

A true Relation
OF THE SIEGE
OF
COLCHESTER,
IN 1648 :

C O N T A I N I N G

I.

The first rising of the inhabitants of the county of Kent.

II.

The blockade of the town of Colchester, and the hardships they underwent till its surrender.

III.

The letters and messages which passed between the Royalists and General Fairfax.

IV.

Articles and conditions of surrender.

V.

A list of the prisoners.

VI.

The heroic actions, character, and behaviour of Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, who were executed at Colchester, five hours after the surrender of the town; as also of Lord Capell, who was beheaded at Westminster in March following.

WITH MANY OTHER CURIOUS PARTICULARS.

Colchester :

PRINTED BY I. MARSDEN.

THE HISTORY

OF THE

COLLEGE

OF

THE

UNIVERSITY

OF

THE

STATE

OF

THE

UNIVERSITY

OF

SEIGE OF COLCHESTER.

ON Christmas day, 1647, a number of persons in the city of Canterbury, in Kent, being disposed to serve God, according to the liturgy of the church of England, (a thing then uncommon), met at St. Andrew's church, in the High-street, excited the observation of many, not so disposed, who met in the streets and under the church windows, and endeavoured to stop their devotion; the mayor especially, endeavoured to persuade the people to carry on their trade, it being market day.

This occasioned a great uproar in the city, when one Huse, a constable and ring-leader in the faction, ran up and down the streets with a pistol in his hand, summoning out the crew, who tumbled out of their houses with fire-arms and other offensive weapons, and beat down and over-powered all they met.

The other party being enraged by this affront, began to prepare for their own security; seized on the magazine of the town, and placed guards at every gate of the city, fearing the mischief which afterwards came to pass, though it might have been prevented, had they not thought themselves too secure.

Their numbers being vastly increased, and becoming violent, Sir William Mann, Mr. Lovelace, a counsellor, and several other gentlemen, by their extraordinary industry, persuaded them to desist from prosecuting those rash designs which they had boldly resolved on; engaging themselves, jointly with the mayor, and Mr. Alderman Savine, a justice of the peace, by articles drawn up and signed by them, declaring that no man should be molested or questioned for any thing which had been done; upon which they all laid down their arms, and every person betook himself to his vocation and particular habitation, which might otherwise have produced greater effects, both in that city and the whole county.

About a month after, upon the instigation of the mayor, by the order of parliament, came down Colonel Huson's regiment of foot from about London, to quarter in Canterbury;

who were no sooner settled in their quarters, but by an order from parliament, they seized on Sir William Mann, Mr. Lovelace, Mr. Savine, Mr. Dudley Wiles, and several other gentlemen, whom they hurried away to Leeds castle, near Maidstone, where they were kept prisoners upwards of two months.

At length so much favour was obtained, as to have bail taken for their liberty, till they should be called upon to answer at the bar of their mock justice, for this high and unpardonable riot of peace making.

This great favour being procured, they all went home, but were scarce settled, before the mayor (by virtue of his own power, having myrmidons enough at hand to maintain him in any thing, though ever so ignoble, wicked, or unjust, notwithstanding his having before signed the articles of indemnity, and the sufferings of those poor people) would have had all those of inferior rank to be whipped, or ride the wooden horse; for he knew how to domineer, and had the soldiers to clap him on the back, and encourage whatever he undertook; but by the grave advice of some of his more moderate brethren, he laid aside that project, and the business lay quiet till about a fortnight before Whitsuntide; at which time, the parliament gave commission of special oyer and terminer for a court of sessions in the castle of Canterbury, and sent thither serjeant Wild and serjeant Steel, to try them upon life and death, who, in the whole affair, were the only sufferers. A grand jury of gentlemen being also summoned from every lathe of the county, and none pricked but such as they thought so well affected to the parliament, as to cast any person whom they were desirous should be convicted. All the deputy-lieutenants were likewise appointed to meet at this great sessions; Sir Michael Lusey, then one of the house, applied to the parliament for leave to be upon the bench, which was soon granted; and coming to Canterbury, boastingly said, "That he thanked God he had obtained leave of the house to be there; and that he would endeavour to send off the gentlemen packing to another world." Which he certainly would have done, had God given so large a power into his hands; but his protection guarded them from the ruin intended for them by there unjust judges.

The day being come and the judges and bench seated in the usual state, the prisoners were summoned to the bar, and

the jury impaneled; after which, the indictment was read and pleaded against, and the jury sent out to bring in their verdict, and after duly considering the affair, found an ignominy upon it; and being again ordered out, returned with the same verdict. This surprised the bench, and the judges were much displeased, having previously agreed upon their doom; but before the bench could rise, a packet was brought in from parliament, with an account of the great defeat given the Welch at St. Fagons, near Cardiff, in Glamorganshire; which being read, one of the bench rose, and said to a gentleman of the grand jury, "Had we known this news before, we would have made you find something else than an ignominy;" to which the gentleman replied; "Sir, neither your news nor your threatening words, should have compelled us to give in a verdict upon another man's life, contrary to the result of our consciences."

After this, all the grand jury met together, being displeased at the above unreasonable speech, and discoursed of the intolerable misery and slavery this wretched kingdom was involved and plunged into; therefore resolved to petition both houses of parliament once more, and endeavour to persuade them to take into consideration the misery with which they had overwhelmed this gasping common wealth. Accordingly a petition was drawn up as follows:

To the right honourable the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament
at Westminster,

The humble petition of the knights, gentry, clergy, and commonalty of the
county of Kent, subscribed by the grand jury on the 11th of May,
1648, at a sessions of the judges, upon a special commission of oyer
and terminer, held at the castle of Canterbury, in the said county,
Sheweth,

THAT the deep sense of our own miseries, with a fellow-feeling
of the discontents of other counties exposed to the like sufferings, pre-
vaileth with us, thus humbly to present to your honours these our ardent
desires.

I. That our most gracious sovereign lord king Charles, may, with all
speed, be admitted, in safety and honour, to treat with his two houses of
parliament, for the perfect settling of the peace, both of church and com-
mon wealth, as also of his own just rights, together with those of the
parliament.

II. That for prevention and removal of the manifold inconveniencies, occasioned by the continuance of the present army, under the command of the Lord Fairfax, their arrears may be forthwith audited, and they disbanded.

III. That according to the fundamental constitution of this common wealth, we may, for the future, be governed and judged by the English subjects undoubted birth-right, the known and established laws of the kingdom, and not otherwise.

IV. That, according to the petition of our right, our property may not be invaded by any taxes or impositions whatsoever; and particularly, that the heavy burthen of excise may no longer be continued, or hereafter imposed upon us.

All which our earnest desires, we humbly recommend to your serious considerations, not doubting of that speedy satisfaction therein which the case requires, and we humbly expect. Whereby we may hope to see (what otherwise we cannot but despair of) a speedy and happy end to those pressures and distempers, which continuance will inevitably ruin both ourselves and posterities. Your timely prevention whereof, by a mutual agreement to what we here propose, in order thereunto, shall oblige us ever to pray.

This petition soon obtained the approbation of a majority of the gentry and clergy, and copies of it were ordered to be left in all parts of the county, and delivered in at Rochester, on Monday the 29th of May, 1648, and all who intended to attend the delivery of it were summoned to Black Heath the following morning.

But before this petition could be finished, letters were sent from the speaker of the house of commons to all the lieutenants of the county, and such justices as the members thought proper, desiring them to use their endeavours in suppressing it, authorizing them to seize all persons they should suspect to be instigators in the prosecution of the petition; upon which the committee published a libellous order against it, which so far from suppressing it, made it fly with increased vigour through the county.

The committees finding threats would no way prevail to their advantage, sent out warrants for all the trained troops and companies to meet at rendezvous at several places in the county. But this would neither avail nor any way answer their expectation; for not one returned any answer to their warrants, but rather absented themselves from their habitations, except Captain Foach and some of his troops, who, with

about twenty of his men, met together and marched to Maidstone, to attend the committee there. Sir T——T—— sent out his warrants likewise, to meet at Barnham Downs, when there appeared about ten men, but neither officers or colours, his officers being all engaged in the prosecution of the petition. After waiting on the Downs the greatest part of the day, in constant hope and expectation of their coming; but towards evening, no more appearing, he dispatched his man to Canterbury, to see if any were met together there, and to invite them, for he dare not command; but his worship's man no sooner entered the gates of the city, but he was surprised by a guard there, and dismounted, and obliged to return to his master on foot.

It being now high time, the gentlemen who had encountered in the petition, began to consider farther of their interest; being strongly engaged how to make good what they had done, and which way to proceed with the most security; for not to perfect what they had undertaken, was not only to undo it, but themselves also; wherefore they met every day regularly, to consider of the imminent danger of the perpetual slavery, not only they, but the kingdom in general was fallen into, and the extremity of violence the grand taxation of the kingdom threatened to crush them with: but instead of asking favour at their hands, resolved, like men of Kent, to maintain, if possible, their antient rights and liberties or perish in the attempt, which they knew well would be a difficult matter for them, having such an infection within themselves, and over the major part of the county. Whereupon a manifesto was drawn up by them, and signed as an absolute and unanimous engagement among themselves, and afterwards dispersed to the view of the whole world, that all might know their resolution.

Thus they resolved to proceed in their design, seizing all the arms and ammunition at Scott's-Hall, Ashford, Feversham, &c. while Sir Michael Lusey and others of the deputy-lieutenants seemed to act to the utmost of their power, for the suppressing of them; but ——Hales, esq. a man well esteemed for his honour and integrity, in a short time had raised a great party in that part of the county, and falling to work with those bold opposers, soon destroyed their power, and laid their honour in the dust; at last they were forced to seek a better security than their arms, and took sanctuary in

Sir Peter Ricot's house at Ailsford; but the foxes lay not long there before the terriers were so near forcing them forth, that they were glad to solicit conditions for leave to run away; which being granted, they delivered up the house, and a great magazine of arms and ammunition, which proved very serviceable to the victors.

In the interim, other parties, being increased and formed in order, kept moving up and down, and received, all who wished well, and had signed and engaged in the petition, who were so unanimous, that within two days space there were strong parties of them got together near Wye, Ashford, Rochester, Gravesend, and several other places, inso-much, that all the committee were glad to make trial of the old proverb, "One pair of legs is worth two pair of hands," so posted to London with a lamentable story to the parliament.

Captain Lee and another member of parliament were sent down, by order of the house, to Rochester, to parley with those that were met there; where, upon debate of the business, they used the greatest policy to persuade them to accept of an act of indemnity from the parliament, and lay aside their designs; but these gentlemen were immediately confined, and forced to treat for their own indemnity at last.

On Thursday, the 23rd of May, a great number of knights and gentlemen met at Canterbury, intending one and the same interest, being active and vigorous in advancing the affair in hand, not minding any other concern than the public welfare, concluding, with a magnanimous courage, to march with the petition in one hand and a sword in the other, to represent their grievances to both houses of parliament, a thing which had never before been opposed, nor accounted riotous till this parliament, by their all-powerful arbitration, voted it so.

This being a general resolution through the county, all men cheerfully took up arms; the commonalty and inferior sort submitting to the commands of their superiors, who, as commissioners, acted what by a general council was thought most convenient for the security of so great an engagement as they were now brought to; and that a clear and candid satisfaction for their arming themselves as aforesaid, might be given to the whole kingdom, as well enemies as friends, caused the following remonstrance to be published, having first been informed of the infamous answer their neighbours

of Surry had received to their peaceable and legal petition, and for which inhuman massacre the butchering myrmidons had the thanks of parliament.

The Remonstrance.

“BEING reduced to this choice, either to deliver up our lives and liberties together, or die free—we are resolved to act the last scene of this tragedy sword in hand, which we shall sooner turn upon our hearts than the public peace. By what necessities exasperated to this resolve? let the world determine; and understand that our petition to the religious and honourable houses of parliament hath been opposed, and the petitioners menaced and persecuted into this extremity, by spirits most implacably distempered; in particular, Sir Anthony Wilding, who vowed he would not cross the street of Rochester, to save from ruin one soul who subscribed to the petition. It was also the proposition of Mr. Beales, to hang two petitioners of every parish!—If this be not enough to awaken others, let it suffice that it hath brought us to a just sense and scorn of those indignities!—we have lost all with patience, and if at last it be accounted a crime to beg, we shall choose to perish. We do therefore solemnly and religiously oblige ourselves, with our lives and fortunes, to oppose effectually, those persons who shall presume to interrupt us in the just and legal presentation of our humble desires to both houses of parliament; and do the utmost of our endeavours to save the harmless, and protect each other in a privilege so undoubtedly our own; which hath not only been adjudged such by this present parliament, but practiced and encouraged by them. And further, in case any single person shall be prosecuted for this engagement, the whole of us to rise and rescue him. So help us God, as we shall respectively and resolutely perform.

Thus gallantly resolved were the greatest part of the gentry in the county of Kent; which behaviour encouraged also the commonalty in as resolute a bravery and boldness; and indeed it was high time to declare themselves, as the state of the kingdom threatened a dismal cloud of dull and sordid slavery, for the tyrants swords had a long time drank the blood of the loyal-hearted gentry of this kingdom, and were really insensible how they went on, or upon whom they exercised their cruelty.

On Tuesday, about noon, the knights and gentlemen who were intrusted as commissioners at Canterbury, gave commission to Colonel Robert Hammon, to raise a regiment of foot by beat of drum, and Colonel Hatton for enlisting and raising a regiment of horse. Their commissions ran thus;

For the more safe and speedy expedition in prefering the general petition of this county, we the gentry, now interested and trusted herein, do nominate and appoint you, Robert Hammon, colonel of one regiment of foot, &c.

Having the day before seized on the magazine of that part of the county then in Canterbury, containing a large quantity of arms and ammunition of all sorts; Colonel Hammon immediately beating up his drums, had in a short time enlisted a considerable number of men, more perhaps than ever were enlisted by one man in so short a time.

Colonels Hatton and Hammon had orders to rendezvous the next day on Barnham Downs, where all the trained soldiers of that part of the county were appointed (by warrant of the commissioners) to meet; but this day proving extraordinary wet, very much hindered their appearance. However, Colonel Hammon, with about 300 foot, well accoutred and armed, and Colonel Hatton with about 60 horse, the produce of one half day, attended; most of the knights and deputy-lieutenants in that part of the county also met here; and after some consultations, they transacted many affairs for the advancement of the engagement, using their utmost endeavours for raising of men, as well as money for supporting and encouraging those who were unable to go through it themselves, engaging for the constant paying both of soldiers and officers, whilst they should continue in the service of their country; for the better advancement whereof, every gentleman, according to his ability, subscribed to the loan of monies, some a hundred pounds, others eighty, some more, and some less; and issued their warrants into all parts of the county, for the summoning of such men as had, and would engage in that service, for the general safety of the county, and liberty of the kingdom.

Towards evening, the rendezvous breaking up, Colonels Hammon and Hatton marched off to quarters towards Dover; then Sir Richard Hardres, Sir Anthony Aucher, and Mr. Anthony Hammond, justices of the peace, men hearty and industrious in the propagation of the engagement as men could

be; and Mr. Thomas Peak, with about seven score trained men, being then, by reason of the wetness of the weather, on horseback, as dragoons, marched towards Sandwich, having previously dispatched a messenger with a letter to the mayor of the town, acquainting him of their coming, and intentions.

On their arrival they found the ports shut, and guards placed round the town; Mr. Matthew Carter, by appointment of the rest of the gentlemen, marching at the head of the men, gave a summons to them, but they at first refused to open the gates, till, after some parley, an officer asked him, whether Sir Richard Hardres was there or not? who was one of the deputy-lieutenants for the parliament; immediately on Sir Richard demanding entrance, the recorder of the town came out, and told him, that the mayor's orders were, "That if he came, the gates should be opened, not else;" which immediately was done, and marching quietly in, they drew up in the market-place, first changing the guards that surrounded the town, previous to their engaging in any other business, and it being almost night; the commissioners being together, they sent for the mayor of the town, and demanding his superscription to the petition, gave him orders for raising money immediately for forwarding the business, but he proved very delatory in that service, pretending that the inhabitants were very poor, and could by no means raise any. The excise officers were also called upon, but their stores proved poor likewise; in short, little hopes remained of receiving any benefit from that place.

Next morning the mayor and aldermen were again called upon, to know what contributions they had raised or would advance to the service, being solely for the re-enthronement of the king, and speedy redemption of the most Turkishly enslaved subjects of England, to their true, antient, and native liberty; but they were found equally as tardy as before; in consequence of which, the commissioners, thinking it unsafe to entrust them with a military power, took away the commissions from the mayor (who was captain of a trained company in the town), and the other trained captains, and disposed of the companies to some gentlemen of the town, whose integrity entitled them worthy of the trust; and immediately cut to pieces the commission of the captain of the auxiliary company; seized on the magazine of the town,

loaded a waggon with powder, match and ball, for the present undertaking, and made all things ready for a march towards Dover; and on their arrival met Colonel Hammon's regiment, which had already increased to upwards of 500, and Colonel Hatton's horse to about 200; who pursuant to their orders, were drawing up to face the castle, together with some trained companies of that part of the county; having several carts with scaling ladders, spades, shovels, and pickaxes.

They were received by the town with much joy and alacrity; Captain Bethel's fort resigned to them, and the town unanimously betook themselves to arms; the trained men (being two companies) also joined them in this promising design.

In the afternoon, divers summons were sent to the castle, demanding the surrender of it for the service of the king and country, but all denied.

Sir Henry H——, a grand independent and parliament man, being in the castle bore a great sway, and was their chief commander; by whose orders they had made incursions upon the country people a night or two before, and drove many sheep into the castle, as if every one was at liberty to act according to his own mind, for promoting the general calamity of the kingdom.

The same evening Major Keme (who had been dispatched on board a fleet) returned, and assured the commissioners that the letters he carried were cheerfully received by the mariners, who all declared for the king, the liberties of the kingdom, and the engagement of the gentlemen of Kent.

Letters were immediately sent to France and Holland, with engagements for bringing over 10,000 arms, and a quantity of ammunition of various kinds; likewise to the prince, to give him an account of all proceedings and intentions of the engagers.

Therefore the next morning they marched from hence towards Deal castle, leaving in Dover and before the castle, the trained bands of the town, and three other companies of that part of the country that were not assembled; Mr. Arnold Brumes, and one or two more justices of the peace, and commissioners for the county, were left to steer at the helm, lest for want of good pilots the undertaking should be wrecked, who drew up the great pieces which were planted on the beach, and mounted them on the most advantageous ground upon the hill near the castle; which was done with the loss of one

man only, though small and large shot were all the while played upon them from the castle. The cannon being thus planted on an eminence, and only a small space from the castle, they fired very briskly upon it and knocked down the old walls very much; notwithstanding which, they refused to surrender, and storm it they could not.

The commissioners, with the other gentlemen, marched towards Deal, with Colonel Hammon's regiment, which by this time amounted to 1000 well disciplined men, armed and accoutred, and as perfectly resolved, with white colours flying; and Colonel Hatton's horse, with some dragoons.

The defenders of the castles discovering so orderly a body of men advancing towards them, sent to the commissioners to desire they would not draw any nearer, till they had concluded their conditions, the articles being then drawing up; whereupon a halt was made, the party being drawn up in orderly front towards the castles.

The knights and gentlemen leaving them at the rendezvous, rode off to Deal, when their first object was to provide for the small army they left in the field, which was executed with the greatest alacrity; and afterwards went on board the ships, to take possession of them, and place such officers as they thought proper to entrust with the command.

The articles for the castles of Deal and Walmer being signed, the one was delivered before, and the other after the commissioners marched away. Their conditions on surrender, were to march with their baggage, leaving their arms and ammunition, without any embezzlement or diminution.

The rendezvous being broke up, they marched to Sandwich that night, and the next morning hastened from thence to Canterbury, leaving only two or three commissioners and five trained companies behind for the security of the town.

Being Sunday, they quartered in Canterbury, not losing any opportunity of improving their time to the best advantage, and forwarding their engagement, the next day being the time appointed for the meeting at Rochester. Shortly after their arrival at Rochester, there came many gentlemen and others to join them, who before had engaged against the petition. The Dutchmen of the city also bound themselves for raising and paying two companies; at which place Colonel Hammon likewise compleated his regiment.

In this city and suburbs were three trained companies drawn

up to arms; and for the better securing the place with two Dutch companies then raising, some knights and gentlemen remained in the city, in order to manage affairs in that part, lest an insurrection should happen by the obstructers of the design, who, by gathering about the place and surprising it, might do great mischief in the rear of the body in case of a retreat, which unfortunately happened in the end.

At this time the Earl of Thanet acted a very mean part, being the first that rose and drew the people about Ashford, Hatfield, and Charing, to a resolution of taking up arms; also sent letters to the gentlemen who had any interest or power thereabouts, and secured above a thousand men, who were ready to rise on the shortest notice; but after he had made a promising beginning, and given large assurances of assistance from his purse, went back from his scene of honour, so that when he was sought for by the neighbouring gentlemen, whom he had inticed by his forwardness, and invited by his persuasions, the noble earl was fled to consult with the Earl of Pembroke; who, after some discourse, prevailed on him to go along with him to Derby-House, where he pleaded for forgiveness, and made what discovery he could of the whole transaction. Whereupon the committee began to hearken to his discourse, and gave some credit to it, having his friend and cousin Pembroke to swear for him; and thereupon resolved some instructions should be given him concerning indemnity, upon a submission again to the yoke, and like conditions; which being reported to the house, were resolved on, and on Thursday morning he was dispatched with them.

On coming home, he exerted every nerve in endeavouring to disband the commonalty; beginning first with discouraging the gentry, and proceeded with that success, as to cause divers gentlemen and others to desert the cause; but the generality being resolved in their design, were not to be turned; for being first invited to favour his plan, became more courageous, and delivered the following letter to the earl, in return to the committee.

To the right honorable the Committee of the Lords and Commons at Derby-House.

“MY LORDS,

“WE have seen the instructions from your lordships, to the right honourable the Earl of Thanet; upon consideration whereof, we have thought fit to return this answer to your lordships:

"That we have cause to believe there are many persons about your lordships, who endeavour to infuse into your sinister opinions of our proceedings, in relation to the safety of the county at this time; who, when we shall be admitted to a fair and equal hearing, will appear to be the greatest disturbers thereof themselves: and that our intentions are free from all other ends than natural defence. We humbly beseech your lordships to understand, that we are in firm resolutions to observe the declaration of the houses, and for the manner of presenting our petitions and complaints, will follow the directions of the said declaration; but saving to ourselves always the liberty of preserving the most antient and inviolate freedoms of this county, we must desire your lordships to put a fair interpretation upon our purposes of continuing within the safeguard of our arms, till we have assurance from your lordships, that the clamours of those above against us, have no success in their enraged designs of engaging against this country in blood and ruin, when they find never so small a diminution of arbitrary power, so long exercised over us, endeavours to be taken from them; not doubting, but upon presentation and fair reception of our petition and just complaints, the parliament will give such reasonable relief therein, as will abundantly discover the inclination of this county to peace and amity.

"My lords, this is the account we can give you of this county, by the hands of the noble lord, the Earl of Thanet, whom also we have desired to inform your lordships farther: that our present posture tends not to offer violence to the parliament, nor suffer acts willingly, unbeseeming our fair intentions; but we shall take strict care to repress wheresoever we find it, the incensed spirit we see in the people, which how it hath been raised, we shall in due time be able to make appear. And we rest,

"Your lordships,

"Most humble servants,

(Signed)

"The Mayor of Rochester. &c."

The engagers resolving to regard no obstructions whatever, farther than to kick them out of their way; the horse and foot were marched from Canterbury towards Rochester, where they met with the gentry of the county from all quarters, in as great numbers as at a general rendezvous; but the main body of the men they had drawn together, who lay in and about Dartford, as being an advance twenty miles forward of their next day's march to the appointed rendezvous.

There also came several gentlemen out of Essex, to treat with the commissioners at Rochester, who were met there from all parts of the county, about the association of both counties in the general engagement; assuring them, that the

whole county of Essex would unanimously rise to join them, and desired a meeting of a party of the Kentish gentlemen, to join in a parley somewhere over the water, with others that should be selected in Essex for that purpose. Others came at the same time from Surry to treat on the same terms, promising as great a readiness of that county to join in the association, which was received with great alacrity. At this time came down a post, with an order from the house of commons, to the commissioners at Rochester, joined in the engagement, to this purpose:

That, whereas they did understand, that the people of Kent were coming up to Westminster in a tumultuous and pretended petitionary way, they knew not the intentions of it, and had therefore referred them to treat with their general, the Lord Fairfax, and the committee of Derby-House.

This rigorous order for preventing their proceeding, being received and read, the general council being met, the business was debated, when it was found the above order had quite turned the balance, and absolutely altered the constitution of the general interest; for they could not but believe that the army would advance entirely against them. Upon which, by a general result, orders were immediately dispatched to Dartford, and the places adjacent, (where the main body then quartered, and lay upon guard) to march back to Rochester, having received intelligence that Lord Fairfax, with his main army, would shortly advance towards them; however, a guard was left at Stone-bridge, near Gravesend, to secure that passage, which was defended but a short time, for the enemy coming up, forced their way.

When they returned to Rochester, Mr. Carter was appointed quarter-master-general of all the forces, for the commissioners and gentlemen received orders from the council for quartering them there; whereupon he caused them to be drawn up by distinct regiments, and took an exact account of the strength of each, when he informed the council of the number which he mustered, rank and file, completely armed and accoutred, amounting to 7000; but the horse, being upon parties abroad, could not be so well taken notice of. Besides these, there were also at several places in the county, upwards of 3000 more which never came up with the party.

This brave army were equally divided into quarters in Rochester, Stroud, and Chatham; the horse in villages ad-

jacent; the engagers began to join more closely, and also to consider what might most probably advance their safety and honour, knowing what they were now to trust to was a difficult severity of fortune, the army being likely enough to fall in suddenly upon them.

Amongst many considerations, they concluded the next to be undertaken must be to model that party into a formidable body, and appoint one person commander in chief, for they were now forced to stand upon their guard to maintain that with their swords which was intended only in a just and peaceable way, according to the antient customs of this kingdom.

Having thus resolved, they appointed a rendezvous the next day on Barnham Downs, three miles distance from hence, where Lord Norwich was proclaimed general at the head of the army, and the brave body of infantry received him with the utmost cheerfulness; expressing an unparalleled willingness to serve their king, and as much joy that they were engaged in it, knowing that their service was not only for him, but the whole kingdom's peace, the recovery of the liberties of their country, and the tranquility of the church of England hereafter.

The army being now quartered in the country, and the general commissioners returning to Rochester, at which time Lord Fairfax, with his whole body marching down towards Maidstone in the night, and finding the river slightly guarded about Farley Bridge, beyond the town two miles, easily got over, and with a strong party fell upon the town before those within it were alarmed.

The enemy being possessed of that passage, marched over with their whole body, and fell upon their outguards so violently, that those in the town were forced to fight upon extraordinary disadvantages; the enemy so far exceeding them in number, and the army quartered at such a distance, they could not retreat, nor have relief time enough to assist them.

This unexpected engagement became very hot, each party contending which should express most valour; the one defending their lives, and disputing their fortifications, which were only bare and thin hedges, with as little thought of danger or security, as if it had been an impregnable fort.

The foes also behaved themselves as gallantly as if they had no thought of a possibility of being beaten. In short,

this overpowered party so bravely defended their ground, that Lord Fairfax, finding his party in disorder, even upon a retreat, alighted from his horse and came himself with them to encourage them on, who were so daunted by the unexpected valour of these defendants, that their disorder nearly endangered their whole body; but at last a fresh party pouring their shot upon them, they were beaten off from their hedges, and forced to dispute the loss of ground from place to place, against an extraordinary disadvantage; the enemies breaking in upon them on all sides, and shewing but little remissness in their execution, when they had an opportunity to make home charges upon them; and after a long fight, forced them to capitulate.

Early the next morning Lord Norwich caused the army to be mustered, and drawn up to a rendezvous at Finsbury fields, on the other side of the river Medway, by Stroud; where a council was called in the field, and upon a report that it was yet possible to relieve the Maidstone party, it was a general result and desire of the general to march thither; but they had not gone two miles when certain intelligence came that they were all cut off and taken prisoners the night before, though several of them came up to the army afterwards, having made their escape.

Upon this intelligence, the army returned to Rochester, where the general, with the commissioners, called a council to consult what measures were best to be taken in their present condition; the parliament having beforehand refused to receive their petition, and the enemy already entered the very bowels of their country, and a party roving about and making a prey of their estates and friends.

Major Osborne, an officer of the Parliament's, with a troop of horse had reached Ashford, and was proceeding towards Sittingborne; on which account, Col. Hammon was ordered to stay with his regiment at Sittingborne, and Colonel Hatton marched back with his horse, and meeting with this troop of the enemy's, charged them, when Major Summer was killed, and several other gentlemen wounded.

Upon this, Sir Richard Hardres was again called back by the commissioners into East Kent, to raise the rest of the country, and to take care for the securing of Canterbury and other towns. Sir Michael Lusey was likewise raising all the men he could, and Major Osborne with his troop, securing

him in it; by which means, the whole country began to shew the face of an absolute seat of war. But now the courage of the soldiery at Rochester was such as would not allow the general time enough to resolve on any thing, being then in consultation what course to steer; for though the weather was such as would have invited them to desire the shelter of the town, rather than to have exposed themselves to such an extremity of rain as then showered down, yet they were so desirous of action, as almost tended to mutiny; for, drawing out their colours, they caused their drums to beat, saying, "If their officers would not march, they would, and fight without them."

Accordingly, the Earl of Norwich commanded them to be drawn into the field, and rendezvous in the same place as before; not being yet resolved which way to contrive to the best advantage; resolving not to act without consent of the council, in which were now included many able soldiers, who came in from several parts to join with them.

It had been the advice of some of the gentlemen concerned, to place the army in this city, and by fortifying the same, defend it as long as they could. But this scheme was disapproved of by others who better understood military politics; well knowing that the engagement was designed for action, and not to lie idle; besides the river was of itself a fortification for one part of the town.

Thus situated, the general summoned a council of the chief officers of the army and gentlemen; at which it was disputed whether they should march on towards London, in the prosecution of their intended design, according to the engagement, or march back to fight the enemy, or by joining with those in East Kent, strengthen their force, and either fight the enemy, or secure that country. But it was not long before they concluded to march on; knowing, that though their body of infantry was strong enough to face the enemy in the field, if occasion should require, yet the horse was so weak as not to enable them to fight at all, having not 200 they dare put any confidence in; as they knew those in East Kent were strong enough of themselves; besides, in marching back the enemy would have come down more powerfully upon them, and by forcing them to retreat into a corner of the country, take off all hopes of assistance from any other county, which they expected according to the association

agreed on between Surry, Essex, and themselves; and if they marched on they should draw the army after them. Again, by drawing near those two counties, they could the easier join together and make so great a body, as, in all probability would be formidable to the enemy's.

This being the result of the council, they immediately marched from the rendezvous towards Dartford; except Colonel D. Wyles, who, with the chief part of his regiment, proceeded towards East Kent, mustering about 1200 men: and Colonel Hammon's regiment (then lying about Sittingborne and Feversham) were ordered to return to Canterbury to strengthen it.

About midnight the main body came to Dartford, where the general caused a letter to be drawn up and sent to the mayor, aldermen, and common council of the city of London, to give them notice of their march that way, as also of their intentions, desiring their assistance, which they hoped for, having treated before with them; or at least, that if they might not be assisted, for permission to march through the city to Westminster without interruption or resistance, engaging not to do the least damage, which was denied them.

At this time a gentleman came out of Essex, who assured the general, that the said county was ready to join them, and that about Bow, were 2000 men in arms, and more at Chelmsford. Upon this intelligence, the general crossed the water in the ferry-boat, and went privately into Essex, intending only to go to Bow or Stratford, where, his informer assured him, a body was collected together; and after knowing the truth, to return; and if he found the country in so good a posture as his intelligencer related, upon his return to provide boats and conduct the army over to join them, leaving Sir William Compton, then major-general, with the charge of the army, by whose appointment provision of bread, beer, and cheese, was procured them, though with great difficulty, the place being very indifferently furnished for its own inhabitants.

The party was now much weakened from what it was two days before, and no assurance of any friends appearing, were absolutely frustrated of their design of marching through Westminster, and unable to fight with any hopes of success if the enemy had followed them.

Night being come, the general did not return according to

expectation, neither could he; for finding no party stirring at Bow or Stratford, he made no stay till he arrived at Chelmsford, and there being no possibility of procuring boats for the transporting such a number of men over in the night, which were the next hopes they had left, some timorous spirits began to steal away, and put such a distraction amongst the whole party, as made every man appear confused.

This unexpected distraction, created in some a panic fear, in others a mad hurry; so that every man began to shift for himself, and to think of his own security, being doubtful of it in almost every place; even the greatest part of the foot, and a few of the horse transported themselves from several places over the river Thames, no man knowing what would be the event of their rashness, nor were they able to account why they did. However, it proved lucky enough in the end, for had they remained there till the general's return, he would scarce have laid the scene of his designs that way; by which means he would have lost the service which afterwards accrued, and have fallen into dishonour.

But having thus confusedly thrown themselves over to the opposite side of the Thames for further safety, fearing danger without cause, they had no sooner landed there, but supposing themselves to be in Essex, were unexpectedly deceived, by finding themselves in Middlesex, under the hamlets of the tower, hurrying to absolute ruin; and, like the unfortunate vessel, seeking to avoid the fatal rock of Scilly, plunged herself into the more desperate gulph of Charibas.

Here (by the appointment of the house) lay a regiment of hamleteers of the tower, drawn up to arms in several guards, ready to receive and cut them off immediately on landing, which was easy enough to perform, considering the disorder they were then in, every man marching according to his humour, but notwithstanding their confused state, after enquiring into the dispositions of the private soldiers, and finding them resolute enough to express themselves rather desirous of dying there in the bed of honour, than to lay down their arms and become slaves all the remainder of their days.

Therefore they all concluded to make a second dispute for conditions, and to charge through them; and being now in the midst, every man provided himself accordingly; the foot all lighting their matches, and the gentlemen drawing their pistols, soon made an alteration in the constitution of the

hamleteers, who left off boasting and marched from guard to guard through the midst of them, as if moving to the place of disbanding, where they expected an opposition, but were resolved to force through it; the last and most distant guard was placed at Bow town; who beholding them marching and getting themselves in order, were absolutely discountenanced from a thought of opposition; so they marched on without the least affront to Bow-bridge, where they supposed was the place for disbanding; at the further end of which was a turnpike, strongly guarded with musqueteers, and having entered upon the bridge, made a stand to parley with them; but after a short discourse, and asking whether they were friends or foes? were answered friends; whereupon they replied, if you are friends, let the turnpike be opened; which immediately was done, amidst loud huzzas. Being now in Essex, and marched clear through these hamleteers, they carried the Major and another officer prisoners; who afterwards, upon their paroles, were suffered to go to London, but never returned according to their appointment. They marched on to Stratford, where they met their general returning, in expectation of finding them in the same posture as he left them; but on being acquainted with what had been done, seemed to be much troubled, knowing the long and tedious marches they had made, that the preceding night's action could not permit any repose, and that they had received no refreshment for two nights, immediately gave command for drawing them up into order on the green, and for such refreshment to be procured as the place would afford for the present, before they marched any further.

Soon as they had marched over the bridge, and were about to draw out, they were alarmed by a party of Colonel Whalley's horse, whom they drove back to Mile-end green, where they fell into the ambuscade; in which service only one gentleman was shot by the dragoons, and one wounded.

They then retired within the turnpike, and strong guards were commanded to all passes and fords about the river, and on all highways and avenues for hindering the enemy from making incursions upon them, who were again summoning and drawing up a strong guard at Mile-End green, both of horse and foot.

They now thought of resting a little, the soldiers being ready to fall in the streets for want of food to sustain them,

and the general posted off to Chelmsford, leaving orders for the shattered army to quarter at Stratford till further orders, which the inhabitants objected to, fearing it would bring down the parliament's army upon them, and make it the seat of war.

But notwithstanding their objections, Major-General Compton coming forward, they seized quarters four days, still keeping the enemy at play, who lay within half a mile of them. All which time the Earl of Norwich continued at Chelmsford, forwarding the business with the gentlemen of the county, who were exerting their power to countermine their design; but Sir Charles Lucas, and some other gentlemen there, boldly declared their desires for the support of the king, and the advancement of the liberty of their country, which were the professed wishes of the army.

Accordingly some of the country gentlemen having met in the said town, desired Sir Charles Lucas not to go away in that manner, for let the committee do what they would, they were sensible enough they had ruined and undone them; and if they would draw them out into the field, and stay with them, they would engage with him, and live and die in that engagement, according to the intention of their meeting together; having resolved not to return till they had performed some loyal act.

This sudden change, in a short time, proved very violent, for they immediately assembled in the field, seized on the committee, and were so furiously incensed against them, that some of them would certainly have been killed, had not other gentlemen, &c. rescued them, pacified the heat of others, and afterwards placed a guard over them; being now resolved that they would not be obstructed in their prosecution by those grand opposers, who they well knew would be active enough in their endeavours to destroy the design: as appeared afterwards by Sir Thomas Honeywood, who being at liberty at his house at Coggeshall, raised as many horse and foot, as by his power and interest he could draw together; and made his house a garrison to oppose the country.

The business coming to this height, his Excellency the Lord Norwich, sent his orders to Sir William Compton, to march from Stratford to Chelmsford immediately with his whole party, which accordingly was done, arriving the next day, (June 8,) at Brentwood, whither Sir Charles Lucas had

advanced with parties of horse and foot to join them; and having intelligence that the enemy followed them with alarms in the rear, commanded all the horse in the town to assist them; they quartered that night at Brentwood, and proceeded the day following to Chelmsford, where Lord Capell, Lord Loughborow, and divers gentlemen of rank from Hertfordshire and other counties, joined also with them; which gave great encouragement to their army.

There also arrived a party of gentlemen from London, who signing their combination in town, made their rendezvous at Hyde-Park corner, and marched all the night before, with an intention to beat up a quarter of the enemy's at Epping; but a party being drawn out near the town, upon some other design, disappointed them of their stratagem; so they marched forward, and being well mounted, charged through the enemy, losing only one man and horse; which being taken by a countryman, were recovered again.

The same afternoon both parties of Kentish and Essex were drawn out to rendezvous in New-Hall park, near Chelmsford, belonging to the Duke of Buckingham.—Which council had resolved at one time to march immediately and fall upon the party of Sir Thomas Honeywood's at Coggeshall; but upon a more serious deliberation it was otherwise agreed, and orders issued for quartering in Chelmsford that night; but the party at Coggeshall so much discouraged the country, that they began to slacken in their appearance to join them, and the reverse of what they were at their first arrival; not only by reason of Sir Thomas Honeywood's activeness, but because the enemy had entered into the country with their whole body.

On Saturday, the 10th, they marched for Braintree, taking Leeds-House in the way, belonging to the Earl of Warwick; where they were opposed by some people who were placed there; and upon the quarter-master-general's coming up to secure it from the violence of the soldiers, the guard that were placed there refused to open the gates, saying, "We are placed here for the security of this house, and will sooner die than deliver it up to be plundered." But on being informed that the general himself was coming, and that the quarter-master-general was commanded before to secure them from injury, they gave him entrance, with some other gentlemen, imagining it would be of small benefit to dispute with an army.

About noon the general and Sir Charles Lucas arrived, and after dinner seized on the armoury, consisting of a good magazine of arms and ammunition of all sorts; and carried from thence two brass field pieces, two or three hundred muskets, and as many pikes, with about sixty great saddles and body arms proportionable to them, some pistols and carbines, and a good proportion of match and ball, with divers other instruments and furniture of war; here they rendezvoused till towards night, in the park beyond the house: the enemy rendezvousing also with a party of theirs very near the other side, and at night in the park; but ventured not to appear all the day in sight of the army. A party of horse also came in upon the march to join them (which they at first supposed to be an enemy) from Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire, consisting of about one hundred and twenty, well trained.

From hence they proceeded on their march to Braintree, and the next day, being Sunday, both parties were drawn in the field to rendezvous; and after prayers, all the gentlemen that were in the army were formed into troops, under the command of Lords Norwich, Capell, Loughborow, and Sir Charles Lucas, that they might know how to dispose of themselves upon any occasion of alarm; for being in order, it would be very convenient for quartering them upon every remove.

On Sunday, June 11th, 1648, about nine o'clock in the evening, they marched from Braintree, and came within six miles of

Colchester,

About four o'clock on Monday afternoon, where they halted; Sir Charles Lucas having received intelligence that they would not receive him in arms; upon which himself with some other gentlemen, marched at the head of the army, a party having been previously dispatched; but before the quarter-master-general left them to go to the town, intelligence came from the party that the town stood upon their guard, and were so far from given entrance, that they opposed them, and were too strong for them: on receipt of which, Sir Charles, and the gentlemen with him, set spurs to their horses and rode full speed till they came to the town, when they found

the gates shut, and about sixty horse drawn out in a very formal troop, well armed and accoutred, and some of their scouts outside of the turnpike by the alms-houses. Sir Charles made a stop here, and sent back a messenger for the army to hasten their march; but four or five gentlemen keeping on their speed, drew their swords, charged the party, and forced them inside the turnpike, when they retreated to Head-gate, the troop having been drawn up in order; the gentlemen again retreated towards the turnpike; in which fray one man was shot on horseback by one of the gentlemen. The town's people perceiving the body of the army approaching, and that Sir Charles Lucas had drawn up two or three troops of horse very near them, sent to treat with him: and on his engaging that the town should not be plundered, nor any injury offered to the inhabitants for what they had done, they submitted themselves, and agreed to deliver up their horse and arms, with the town; which accordingly was done, and the army quartered there that night.

The next day, Tuesday June 13, about noon they received a strong alarm, that the enemy were advanced within a mile of the town; but it was not long before they were as ready to receive them, as the enemy to assault, the men being drawn up to their colours, fresh parties were sent out to assist the guards, both horse and foot, and the enemy came on strongly on all parts of that side of the town next Lexden, and fired up to the very hedges and guards of the foot; but were furiously opposed, till at last some of the guards wanting ammunition to maintain the heat of the service, about the alms-houses and Grimstone's house, were overpowered by the number of men who threw in their shot like hail upon them, and were forced to retreat, and give the enemy the liberty of possessing themselves of all that ground; in which retreat they fell upon the guards near Shere-gate; so that the out-guards were ordered to retire within the town, it being the best policy to take the greatest advantage in opposing an enemy, were the army double the strength of the opposer's; but before this retreat could be made, and the guards drawn within the gates, the dispute grew close and hot: the enemy advanced so rapidly, that it was difficult to maintain any ground against them, yet they were still resolutely opposed, and it was a hard matter to judge which shewed most courage, the enemy in assaulting, or the party in defending.

The party now being obliged to retreat, gave an encouragement to the enemy to prosecute their charge upon them, thinking themselves more than half victors already, not doubting but in a short time they should take possession both of the town and them.

But this new army of countrymen added fire to the heat of the service to such a degree, and with so undaunted a resolution, (far contrary to the enemy's expectation, though they had received an experimental knowledge of them at Maidstone) that numbers, not digesting it, left their bodies in the streets and hedges, as infallible witnesses of what had been done.

Many of their dead bodies were thrown into wells, some buried in ditches, others carried off, and considerable numbers were left behind; their whole loss amounted to 700 men; among whom were Colonel Needham, and divers other prime officers, besides many wounded, and above 130 taken prisoners, and brought into the town; for, having retired within the walls, the shot fell in so thick amongst them, that they could not hold out long; and after seven or eight hours fighting, they were so disabled, that they were forced to retreat, leaving behind them one brass piece of ordnance, (which they brought to force open the gate) 12 of their train horses, which were shot within twenty yards space of ground, and above 500 arms, which were brought into the town next morning.

Their retreat was in such disorder, that had they sallied out with a fresh party upon them, as was once intended, they had cut off their whole army, or at least the greatest part, as many of them afterwards confessed.

It was acknowledged by the quarter-master-general, that he never saw men fight with more gallant resolution and courage, than those men did, although raw country fellows; but how could they do otherwise, having such rare precedents, as those honourable lords and gentlemen, under whose conduct they were brought thither, and under whose command they then fought, who ceased not to act the duty of the most inferior officers, and ran the hazard of the private soldier, by taking pikes in their hands, when their horses were not of immediate service, to give encouragement to the most inferior class, lest by the heat of service, they might grow slow and dull in the performance of their utmost duty.

Lord Capell charged at Head-gate (where the enemy were

most pressing) with a pike, till the gate could be shut, which at last was fastened with his cane only: the enemy were very gallant too, endeavouring to force their entrance in upon them, which they so far effected, as to fire under the gate, and several times threw stones over.

In this engagement Sir William Campion and Colonel Cooke, men of incomparable and unblemished honour, both received mortal wounds with shot, upon the first charge in the suburbs; also one lieutenant and 30 or 40 privates, and a great number were wounded.

Sir William Layton, though not interested in any immediate command in the army, took the charge of an out-guard, and endeavouring to retreat, perceiving the enemy had surrounded him, was unfortunately shot in the foot, so that before he could recover the gate it was shut, and the enemy intermixed with his party; insomuch that he could by no means escape being taken; when a soldier, who had formerly served four years under him in the king's service, and in his own company, came to him, and would have carried him off, but was forced, by reason of the shot that came so thick upon them from the town, to run and leave him; and Sir William was grown so stiff with loss of blood, that he could not shift for himself. After a while the soldier came again, carried him off, and secured him from the most inhuman usage of other soldiers; which man afterwards proved very serviceable to him, and got him safe home.

Lieutenant-Colonel George Rawlings commanded another out-guard on that part of the town, and was also surprised before he could make his retreat, with about 40 foot soldiers; so that near 80 prisoners were taken by the enemy; but many of them, in consequence of the confused retreat, made their escape, and got safe into the town again.

Night coming on, and it proving very dark, they made use of the opportunity for threatening, but before they drew off set fire to some houses near Head-gate, hoping thereby that the wind would so force the fire inwards, as to burn the whole town; but the diligence of the soldiers proved as great in defending it from fire, as before from plunder and sword, guarding it from an enemy merciless in the one and insatiable in the other, as the suburbs of the town witnessed; the people whereof, chiefly poor weavers, rather seemed to oppose the party than to assist or help them; but the next

morning they found scarce a house unplundered, from the one end to the other, and many poor men dead in their houses, and the women and children fled.

Among the rest, Quarter-master Carter received the following account by break of day next morning. Just over against the alms-houses lived a poor weaver, whose dwelling he happened to ride by, and seeing a woman heavily bemoaning herself, demanded the cause of so much grief; whereupon she answered him, "That the last night some of the soldiers that fought against the town, came violently into her house and took what they pleased; that they were no sooner gone, but others came in, and not finding any thing left in the house to satisfy them, came to her husband at work in the loom, and demanded money of him, who told them that he had been worth but little, and that what he had the soldiers that came before them had taken from him, excepting only a small sum in his purse, which he would give them if they would be satisfied; but that not answering their expectations, they told him he was a cavalier rogue, and had more money, which they would have, or kill him; which he denying, one of them shot him through the body, so that he died immediately; at which noise his son coming in, they fell to cutting of him, and had used him so cruelly, that he lay likely to die."

But to return; having made their retreat in the night, the next morning they drew back to Lexden, a village about a mile from the town, and cast up a fort just upon the highway to secure the head-quarters and barricadoes cross all the high roads; here they lay for two days quiet, then approaching nearer in the night, cast up another fort in that road towards the town, where they placed a guard; and the next night entered ground upon a hill, called the Warren, and placed a strong guard there the night following, every night breaking up fresh ground where they thought most advantageous.

This gave the town people reason to believe that they intended to plant themselves before them for a longer continuance than they before imagined, and to block them up; by which they were invited to consider for their own security, which then consisted in the greatest care for victualing and fortifying; the only two things to be first thought of in such a case, especially in a place then defective in both. A town perhaps never intended for what it was afterwards ordered to; indeed,

no man who had surveyed it with the judicious eye of an experienced soldier, could be so weak as to suppose it a place fitting to be mantled or maintained as a garrison; in short, the first intentions of the army, were only to quarter at Colchester for a night or two, agreeable to the resolution of a council held at Braintree, and conformable to the desire of Sir Charles Lucas, who only imagined they might raise many recruits there; but being forced to it, every man was enlivened with an active and cheerful behaviour to forward and advance all things requisite for the business, for march away they could not, without falling into a campaign country, the enemy being very strong, and themselves weak in horse, would have cut them off in an instant; and their foot not being sufficiently experienced to maintain a charge of themselves, against both horse and foot, and no hedges to shelter them from the enemy.

By the incomparable diligence of all parties (no man at the first knowing where to find provisions of any sort, more than belonged to every private family for their ordinary sustenance) were found in several parts of the town, and particularly at a place called the Hythe, many private stores of corn, and wine of all kinds, salt, some fish, and a good quantity of powder, the want of which would suddenly have thrown them into absolute ruin.

It is said, "He who would picture war, must first begin with the belly." Accordingly, having many bellies to feed, and not knowing how long they should continue in that situation, were the most inquisitive after provisions, by which means, at the Hythe they found greater assistance than indeed could have been hoped, which was conveyed into the town with expedition and secrecy, the enemy being so favourable as not to endeavour to cut them off from that place, till they had almost drained the honey from the comb.

Whilst they were thus active for preventing dangers which might happen, by strengthening the walls of the town, and fortifying those places where no wall was, by casting up ramparts and counterscapes, as a great part of the town required, the enemy was busy without in runing their trenches, making their reproaches, and casting up forts and batteries against them.

In this manner they continued for some time, rather than sallying upon the enemy, fortifying the town in hopes of

some relief from the Scots, and divers other places, who were at the same time in action, and that they might quietly march into the kingdom, and come to their relief.

Neither were these all the hopes they cherished, for there remained a possibility of a victory over that army, by delaying to fight with them till some more fit opportunity should offer; or the tediousness of the service weaken them by hard duty, constant action, and unseasonable lying in the field, in respect of the weather.

Pompey was well advised for a time, when he refused to fight, and gave Cæsar ground; but when, by the importunities of his captains, he ventured upon the battle of Pharsalia, he lost the same, the freedom of Rome, and thereby his life.

The constable of France frustrated the mighty preparation of Charles V, when he invaded that province, by wasting the country, in forbearing to fight the Duke of Alvaria; by the same policy wearied out the French King of Naples, and dissolved the mighty army of the Prince of Orange in the Low Countries.

A similar circumstance was the battle of Pavy, which proved fatal to France; where the French king was taken prisoner, and the French frustrated of their main hopes of Italy.

The day before this overthrow, the king summoned a great council of war, and desired the opinion of his officers, whether he should give a field to the enemy or not: at which an old captain began to persuade the king to stay, and delay engaging till supplies, which were already levied, should come and strengthen his army, desiring him not to run hazards, when the welfare of France was at stake; urging his advice was not only for the king's honour, but for his safety; there was also at the council a young hot-spur officer, fitter to begin than continue a charge, who said that nothing was more honourable than gaining a victory by fighting, &c. at the same time jeering the old captain, by saying, it was no wonder that an old man should be fearful, and seek delays, whose mind being disturbed with its usual fears, was endeavouring to find a passage through him; the old man could not bear his scurrility; but replied, "Seeing the King will have us fight, I will die to morrow an honourable death before his face; when thou, forgetful of thy brags and rashness, wilt forsake the field" which prophecy, in all respects, was ful-

filled, the field desperately lost, and the king taken prisoner.— Many more examples of the same nature might be inserted, were it necessary.

So here, though the army in the town gave their enemy no field-battle, yet suffered them not to lie idle from constantly fighting in one place or other, both night and day; neither were they so weak as some suppose after shattering them; for they were in foot still about equal in number before the Suffolk joined them, who lay upon the bridges of the river so strong before the enemy drew them over, that it would have been impossible to have forced a passage, in case they had attempted it, without being attacked by the enemy in the rear, and obliged to engage both ways, to the hazard of the immediate destruction of the whole army.

About the 20th of June, a number of gentlemen were dispatched privately with commissions to raise men in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire but the country forces having broke up the bridges and guarded the passes, and the enemy taken the fort, called Mersea Fort, which commanded the passes into that island, there was no passage left open for them, so they were forced to return, which they did securely, although through the enemy's quarters, not a man being taken.

The next night parties of horse and foot were commanded to go into the hundred of Tendring, for bringing in provisions, and returned the day following with about one hundred sheep and sixty oxen; which were all delivered to the commissary for the general store, and in like manner provisions were brought to the public store houses every night.

Two or three days after, part of the country rose to join them; but the captain, who by commission from Sir Charles Lucas, was to levy and command them, would have betrayed them to the enemy in their rising, in order to ingratiate himself with the prevailing power; but his design, not having so much policy as villainy, was discovered, and himself seized on by the countrymen, till Sir Charles Lucas's pleasure should be further known concerning him and them; to whom they sent two sufficient men to give him an account of the affair, making it their earnest request that he would send a party of horse and foot to assist them in their rising, and to conduct them safe into the town; accordingly, a party was drawn out and marched in the night to their assistance, and after stopping about a week, returned safe with what men

they had raised, through the quarters of the Suffolk foot, who were drawn over the river, and encamped between them and the town.

Another party was commanded out in the night at the North-gate, and force through their quarters, returned safe in the morning, losing only two men, by which loss they gained livelihood for many more, bringing in with them above fifty oxen and cows, besides sheep, corn, and other provisions, and might have brought more; but Sir Charles Lucas being tender of injuring his countrymen, would not permit them to drive from any, but those he knew to be actual enemies; though his tenderness proved a very great inconvenience and prejudice to the town; for after that they never obtained the like opportunity, the enemy drawing immediately nearer upon them, confined them within narrow bounds, being much incensed with anger in themselves, that they should suffer them to march through their quarters upon a sally, and return again safe. The Hythe still continued in the possession of the town party, from whence were conveyed daily such necessaries as it would afford, by keeping a constant guard there; and the enemy did not attempt to beat them off, while any thing remained there of use.

On the 5th of July, the council published a proclamation for calling all such townsmen, as would serve upon the line for the security of the town, to enlist themselves into the service, under the several captains and officers who should be deputed by Sir Charles Lucas to command them, and all others to bring in their arms to be delivered into the magazine; and that those who refused to enlist should not keep any arms in their houses on pain of death, and forfeiture of their goods to the benefit and use of the town.

About this time the enemy encroached so near upon them, notwithstanding the daily sallies and skirmishes with them in all parts, that they fell into East-street, and seized the mill on the river, and placed a strong guard there, who set fire to a tanner's house and barn, and consumed all the goods, leather, and corn in it; they also began to be very busy and troublesome to the guards; whereupon at the next council of war, the affair was disputed, and a resolution made for a grand sally on that part of the town, which was accordingly performed, and Sir Charles commanded in chief, marching at the head of the horse, and Sir George Lisle commanded the

foot; the whole party consisted of 500 foot, and 200 horse, out of which a forlorn party being drawn, they first marched down towards the river, whilst the enemy's guard was placed on both sides of the street with a barricado across, from whence, with their chase-shot from their drakes, and small shot from the barricado and guard-houses, they played very thick upon Sir Charles's party, having no other passage over the river than a foot-bridge, the end whereof reached within five feet of the enemy's barricado; but, as if it had been only a sporting skirmish amongst tame soldiers at a general muster, they regarded it not, and running in a single file over the bridge, and some for haste through the river, mounted their barricado, and beat the enemy off in an instant, and having once gained that, overturned the drakes, and charged upon other parties that still fired at them in the street, and passed by the guard-houses, till they had cleared a great part of the street; surrounding them, charged in upon them, who having neither possibility of relief, retreat, or escape, yielded upon quarter; so they took the captain, lieutenant, ensign, and above 80 privates, with all other inferior officers.

Many were also killed in the adjacent houses, the whole street being almost full of soldiers: they overturned the drakes, and threw one of them into the river, but not having teams ready could not bring them off. The whole party being now marched up, and having thus surprised the guard, they proceeded forward and made good their charge till they had cleared the whole street, which gave so great an alarm to all their leaguer, that they immediately rallied together all the foot and horse on that side of the river, and marched down the hill from behind the windmill to the top of another hill in a very full and orderly body, leaving only their colours and pikes, with a reserve behind the mill. But having gained almost the top of the first hill, they followed their charge so smartly upon them, that they soon forced them to a disorderly retreat, and quickly made them strive to take leave of their ground; the fields were overspread with confused and dispersed soldiers, both horse and foot.

The town party being thereby encouraged, prosecuted their reserves till they had beat them behind the windmill, and forced not only their reserve and colours, but all they could rally, to quit the ground and disperse themselves; insomuch, that they were obliged to divide their horse into three squadrons, one

division to keep the field, and the other two constantly wheeling up and down, beating up their foot as they ran away; and their foot would never have disputed a hedge, had they not taken this course, which was now their only refuge.

Having now procured a very thick hedge for their shelter, and being thus forced, they began to make a stand; and the town foot (more out of heat of courage than mature policy) having engaged thus far, some of them still ran on, till they gained an old thin hedge opposite to the enemy, beyond the windmill, where they still fired upon them, maintaining the said hedge, whilst a party of the enemy's horse, wheeling about the field between them, accidentally discovered they had spent all their ammunition, by hearing one of the party foolishly call out for some, and thereupon clapping spurs to their horses, made a full charge upon them through the hedge, and killed and took most of them while on the retreat.

The town party perceiving what had happened, faced about again, and received their charge with such an undaunted retort, that they forced them once more to a speedy retreat; and so returned into the town in good order.

In this action Sir George Lisle was once taken prisoner, but immediately rescued; but lost one captain, one lieutenant, and about 30 privates, who were taken at the broken hedge, but very few killed.

Mr. Weston, a gentleman of the general's troop, being shot in the belly, was also taken prisoner.

On the enemy's side upwards of 80 were brought into the town prisoners, and between 200 and 300 killed; amongst whom was the colonel that succeeded Colonel Needham in the command of his regiment, who was killed the first night's attack, and many of them wounded; of which very few escaped, but died within a very short time, as their party confessed, either through neglect of their surgeons, or through the severity of the weather, insomuch that divers that came into the town afterwards, and men too who had been in the king's service, affirmed that the attack was at least 500 men loss to them; besides many that left the leaguer upon it, some coming into the town by three or four in a day, and often more, for a long time together; and others stealing to their own habitations.

After this sally the countrymen began to be displeased

with the service, and thought it hard duty to lay so long in the trenches, and were glad to entertain all comers who would perform their duty for them, allowing each man ten shillings a week constantly, to be excused themselves; by which means, many who came from London and other places, with intent to join the town party, not being able, entered into their army.

Next night, the enemy strengthening their leaguer on that part of the town, fell into the street again with a stronger party than before, and possessed themselves of their former guards and ground, and again fell to firing the houses on that side of the river next the town, intending thereby to have destroyed the guards which were placed in the face of them, being only a narrow river apart, which much detrimented them, and kept the fire from doing any harm; after which they set fire to all the windmills near the town, thinking thereby to hinder the inhabitants from grinding corn, but they soon found a salve for that sore; for finding by the river side, at the Hythe, many mill-stones, designed for transportation, some of them were fortunately brought into the town, and several house-mills were set up, which proved very serviceable during the seige.

They then raised two or three horn-works and redoubts on the north side of the leaguer, running their trench up to them from the river side, over against the warren, where they placed a number of great pieces, which they played violently at a mill, called middle mill, upon the river, which mill they supposed was the only one left; and indeed it was, excepting those house-mills; but they did little damage to the mill, which greatly displeased them, for they thought, if they disabled the town party from grinding corn for the soldiers, they would mutiny for want of bread; which was probable enough, and might have happened, as the town's-people were always ready to second them; but this was happily prevented by the diligence of Lord Loughborow, who made a most laborious toil, as pleasing to him as the lightest recreation, by undertaking and continuing the care of providing necessary provisions for the army, which was daily ordered and distributed by the commissaries to the whole town; insomuch that he would frequently, for half a day together, continue a strict eye over both mills and bakers, lest by their indiscreet or wilful neglect, any inconveniencies should happen.

The same care was also ordered to be taken by the mayor

for the inhabitants of the town, who was commanded by the council of war, to raise supplies of provision for the people, and to erect mills for the grinding corn, who by this time began to be in want, the town being very full, and many of the inhabitants indigent and needy, who were not in a capacity to provide for themselves, nor had they scarcely been when the town was open: but the mayor rather desired to hazard the starving them, thinking, that by the violent instigation of unmerciful hunger, they would be urged to a mutiny in the town, whereby the enemy might take hold of the confusion, and overwhelm the party in a sudden and general destruction; for, notwithstanding all threats and daily urgencies from Lord Loughborow and Sir Charles Lucas, he still neglected to provide corn for those who had none, or mills to grind for those who had yet some left; in consequence of which, the poor of the town, having quite exhausted their provision, began to throng together, making great clamours and exclamations of being ill used, and falling into necessity, their bellies sounding alarms to their mouths, made their tongues instruments to thunder their wants in the ears of the officers of the army, who did not at all reflect on the mayor and officers of the town: but Sir Charles Lucas, at the next council of war, commiserating them as his own town's-born people, petitioned the lords that they might have some corn delivered out of the general store-house, which was as readily granted as mentioned, and an order immediately given; by which order the commissaries were appointed to deliver to every family according to the number in it, a certain proportion of bread corn, which amounted in the whole to 300 quarters of wheat and rye, the want of which proved a great inconvenience to them.

At a council of war on the 12th of July, by a general consent, the Earl of Norwich caused the following declaration to be dispersed in the country, as also in the enemy's leaguer.

“COULD prosperity make us insolent, this overture should be the story of our present fortunes: how numerous, how unanimous, how associated, and how befriended, have we been in our undertakings! In a word, Heaven seems pleased with our proceedings, and earth conspires for our deliverance! Consider with what resolutions we have acted in times of despair, and raised ourselves to the present height out of nothing! Consider also, that we still move with the same resolution, and

are yet favoured and encouraged by the same Providence who at first raised us.

“In this condition, gentlemen and fellow subjects, we salute you in a temper of pure love and christianity; disengaged, we assure you, from any interest whatever, or mixture of revenge or fear.—Peace is the end we aim at, and proposed at first to accomplish our designs in a peaceable manner, if it were possible so to do.

“We have compassionately considered the number of innocent souls who have been seduced by the imposture of a pretended liberty, and the many who have been brought into erroneous and unfortunate engagements by their necessities, all of whom must certainly perish, if not preserved by this now only remaining expedient.

“Therefore, whatever officer or soldier now in arms against us, shall, on or before the 21st day of this instant, July, repair unto us, or join any part of our forces, and with them enter upon action, and not proceed against us for the future, shall have his or their arrears paid unto him or them: and we do further hereby oblige ourselves to intercede to his most sacred majesty, for an act of indemnity; and we do not in the least doubt but our most gracious sovereign the king, will immediately grant the same; and for the performance hereof on our part, we tie our honours and the faith of the country; vowing withal, that we design no alteration, either in church or common-wealth, but such as this present parliament hath declared and allowed to be the duty of good christians and loyal subjects.”

On the 23rd of July, the enemy drew down to the Hythe, where a guard was placed in the church, when Captain Horsmander, the officer who then commanded the guard, no sooner saw the enemy, but he delivered up his guard without firing one musket, whereas, had he opposed them, he might in a very short time have been relieved and drawn off, though the place could not have been maintained. This place proved of very little benefit to them; only they might reflect on themselves for the neglect they had committed in not taking it before, whilst the property remained there, as it lay so open for them to have seized, that had they made an attempt upon it, it could not have been kept without engaging the whole body, and quitting the town; and indeed, had they surprised that place in due time, as might easily enough have been done before it was drained.

The next day, having drawn the line very near Lord Lucas's house, they planted two demi-cannons against St. Mary's church, from whence they fired upwards of 60 great shot at

the steeple, but did very little damage, for with as much expedition as possible, a battery was raised against them upon the curtain; from whence, on firing about four times, one of their best cannoniers fell, and with him six men more; upon which, finding that place too warm for their continuance, they removed their guns.

The occasion of their being so envious as to aim at the destruction of the steeple, was on account of a sentinel being kept continually there, who discovered their motion both night and day; besides which, a platform was made in the frame of the bells, and planted a brass saker there, which flanking their trench, did them much injury.

On the 25th, the enemy drawing their line still nearer Lord Lucas's house, under the shelter of an old wall and some buildings, brought up their demi-cannons and battering upon the Gate-house (wherein was a guard of 100 musqueteers) reduced one side of it to the ground, which falling amongst their work (being a small half moon, drawn from one side of the house to the other) annoyed them very much; the enemy also firing two or three granedoes at the same time, buried many in the stones and dust, and the rest not able to stand the shock, betoke themselves to their swords, and the butt-ends of their musquets, and fought very hard from one place to another, after losing their line, till most of them made their escape, some out of the wicket of the gate, and others out of the windows and broken places of the house. The officers also forced their liberty with the points of their swords, and came off safe.

The enemy should not boast much of their success in this action; though it was some advantage to them; but they purchased it with the loss of many a stout man, and of their oldest soldiers, whom they quickly found lying by the wall and sides of the trenches, some dead, and others speaking well of the gallant behaviour of their enemy, in their miserable dying groans. Of the whole guard, consisting of 100 men, not above 10 were taken prisoners, and only four or five killed, though many were wounded, but came off, and recovered.

Having thus possessed themselves of this house, the first thing thought of was plunder, and accordingly they fell to searching, and those things which were moveable in it, though of little worth or service, they took away; which

chiefly consisted of bedsteads, stools, and the like, for the said house had been divers times before plundered; and was one of the first in the kingdom served so: but on finding themselves no better rewarded for their trouble, they broke open the vault wherein the ancestors of the Lucas's family were entered, under pretence of searching for money, and finding several corpses not quite dissolved, particularly those of the Ladies Lucas and Killigrew, who were both buried in leaden coffins, dismembered their trunks, throwing a leg in one corner of the vault, and an arm in another, and were so audacious in this brutish act, as to take away the hair of those ladies' heads in their hats, as a triumphant bravado in honour of their villainy; in this condition the vault continued till the corps of Sir Charles Lucas was brought to be entombed there.

By this time, the magazine in the town being nearly empty, and all the flesh being spent; the next affair that was ordered, was searching the private stores in the town, which accordingly was done, but they proved very weak. Then the council of war, after receiving an account of the searches and condition the town was in, as to provision, having examined every private family, ordered that all the horse, except 200, should sally forth in the night, and break through the leaguer, and if they could get through with the ease they wished, to march northward, in hopes of relief; having previously received very great assurance, by private letters, that relief was intended, and hasting towards them from Duke Hamilton, under the command of Sir Marmaduke Langdale; so the horse were all drawn to a rendezvous in the Castle-yard, late in the night, and a party of foot with them for their assistance, in forcing the enemy's line, with pioneers, to level the way for them to let the horse in when the foot should have forced the enemy off their line, which was easy to have been performed; thus they marched over the river by the Middle-mill, and came within reach of the enemy's sentinels, before they were discovered, or any part of their guards alarmed; but their guides and pioneers, who were for the most part townsmen, agreeable to a plotted combination amongst them, ran away immediately, the night being dark; by which cowardly behaviour they were forced to retreat into the town, which was done without the loss of a man; but it gave the enemy so much notice, as to make an absolute discovery of their design, and it was afterwards not thought proper to make a second attempt.

At the next council of war, considering the stores were exhausted, and all flesh, or very near all spent, it was thought convenient to keep those horses which were fit for the soldiers to eat; which were drawn into the Castle-yard, with orders, that no officer whatever should conceal their horses, but cause them to be brought into the field, upon the forfeiture of them to be slaughtered immediately; when the third part of every troop was drawn out and delivered to the commissary to be killed, some of them to be immediately distributed to the men, and the rest to be powdered; which the soldiers very willingly submitted to, and as cheerfully fed upon them, rather than deliver themselves up to their enemies upon base or dishonourable terms; which expressions of theirs were so common and public, that the enemy hearing of their falling to horse flesh, heard also of the resolution of the soldiery, which greatly startled them; for before then, they hoped for daily submission to a treaty of surrender.

Upon the last search which was made in the towns-mens' houses and shops for all things eatable, very little corn was found, in some houses not above a peck, in others two, and in several not any, or scarcely any flesh, yet there was a good quantity of spice and oil, which as far as it held out, proved very useful to eat with the horse flesh; some starch was also found, which was preserved, and made very good puddings,

It hath been reported, that at this time they had some relief brought by water from the fleet at sea, but it was not true, for although there was a river came up to the town, yet the sea was above seven miles from the place; and the enemy had possessed themselves of the block-house against the island of Mersea, which commanded the pass into it, so that no boat could stir by them to the Hythe, the nearest place they could come to.

It was confidently asserted, that the ruin of the whole undertaking was occasioned by giving the enemy liberty of possessing themselves of Mersea fort; but they are certainly in the wrong that think so; for it was at first intended to have kept possession of that fort, and Colonel Tuke was named for the expedition; but, after duly considering the situation of affairs, they were fully convinced that the design could not be beneficial to them, for these very reasons:

First, The fort at Mersea was upwards of seven miles distant, and the enemy having beset the town quite round, it

was consequently in their power to stop any communication between the town and Mersea fort.

Secondly, It was reasonable to think, that as the enemy were surrounding the town, they would also take possession of the fort, which they accordingly did, and as no relief could have been sent, it was certain the enemy would have taken them prisoners.

Thirdly, In their consultation about taking Mersea fort, and placing a guard there, it was found that the island was not capable of relieving and supporting half the body of men necessary for the defence and security of the place.

Fourthly, They did not think it policy to divide the army, and thereby much weaken it, without some hopes of doing service; whereas there could be none as affairs stood, especially as the number was not sufficient to engage at both places.

But others say, that had they taken and kept possession of Mersea fort, they might have been relieved by the ships of war at sea, who paid due submission to the royal authority; but relief from them was uncertain, as it was with difficulty they could obtain provision for their men; and it ought to be considered, that 500 men placed at the fort, would have been a sufficient number to have kept the party there till they were starved; it being impossible to afford them the least assistance when surrounded; and that by the same means, all persons were hindered from assisting or joining them.

After the enemy had obtained possession of Lord Lucas's house and the Hythe, they began to draw their line still more straight, and to lie quite round them, insomuch that they were confined within a narrow compass; they also brought up their largest pieces of battery, viz. Two demi-cannons, and two whole culverins, and placed them near St. John's house, and again fell to battering St. Mary's steeple, one side of which they beat down, and a great part of the church; they also broke the saker which was placed in it; during all this smart firing, not one man was killed, and only one of the mattresses wounded.

On the 25th, in the night, the enemy alarmed the line, and fell upon the guard in the Middle-mill, over against Ryegate, commanded by Colonel Rainsborow, and getting over the river at a fordable place, fell upon them furiously and obliged them to retreat into the town, and, at the same time, set fire to the mill: upon which a party of the town (chiefly

gentlemen) marched down upon them, and attacked them with such resolution and spirit, that they were obliged to take to their legs and run away, first throwing down their arms; and their retreat was in such disorder, that many of them, mistaking the proper place to get over the river, were drowned, twelve of them killed on the spot, and six taken prisoners; the mill being then on fire, the soldiers present were ordered to carry water in their hats to quench the same; which was accordingly done, and with such expedition, that little damage ensued.

That night it appeared the enemy intended to have stormed the town; but on meeting with this repulse, laid aside their design.

The following accident happened in the attack to an ensign in the town guard, in Colonel Till's regiment, viz. He was shot through the body, in at one side and out at the other, with a five pound bullet; after which he went from the guard to his quarters in the town, by the help of one soldier only, the bullet hanging by his side in his skin, and being laid on his bed, the bullet broke out and carried with it his last spirits of life; giving him time to breathe out this expressoin only: "Oh! that I had been shot with my colours in my hand, that furling myself in them, I might have so died, my friends might have believed I really loved the king, and that I lived, and cheerfully died, in his and my country's service." An expression, as gallant as the strangeness of the shot by which he died; 'tis a pity the memory of so great and loyal a gentleman should sleep in obscurity.

On the 27th day, the enemy lying in Magdalen-street, began to cast up two or three redoubts in the fields, betwixt the said street and town, over against Berry-fields, and beginning to express their intentions by their behaviour, it was supposed they designed to be troublesome neighbours; in consequence of which a party was drawn out, made a smart sally upon them, and beat them off from their works, pursuing them into the streets and houses, and killed many of them, still maintaining their ground, although noon-day, till the enemy approached in great bodies of horse and foot upon them, when they made an orderly and fair retreat, bringing off ten or more prisoners, with the loss of one man and two wounded; after their growing thus near, daily sallies were made in one place of their leaguer or other, during the remainder of the seige.

On the Sunday following Sir William Massam, one of the committee, who was then prisoner in the town, was sent in exchange for Mr. Ashburnham, whose man was permitted to come to the walls to receive him; and he was joyful enough of his liberty from that imprisonment, though some boldly aspersed the gentlemen under whom the committeemen were prisoners, and declared that they were placed just upon line, because they should be killed by the impartial shot of their friends; which was false, for they were lodged, first coming to town, at the best and most convenient inn, and the town being very full, could not admit any better conveniency for them, being allowed to receive any provisions of fresh and hot meats into the town, without opposition or affront, whilst the lords and gentlemen generally fed on horse flesh. Once or twice, nevertheless, the top of the house wherein they were confined, was shot through from the leaguer; the prisoners therefore sent a special message to Lord Fairfax, acquainting him what house they lay in, and desired he would direct the fire another way.

The enemy proceeding thus in the seige, crept nearer and nearer, yet many of them paid dearly for their boldness, though, by reason of the scarcity of ammunition, it was not possible to make very great sallies upon them, nor constantly fire from the line, yet sallies were made almost every day in one part or other, and shot so carefully disposed of, that many of them fell daily; some were often killed when cutting and bringing in grass for the horse, no forage being left in the town, but what they fought for; going in parties, and some firing at the enemy whilst others cut grass, the thatch from the houses and boughs from the trees being eat up.

On the 10th of August, Lady Katharine Scot, accompanied by some other ladies, desired leave of Lord Fairfax, for liberty to see her father, Lord Norwich, Lady Norwich being newly dead, but could not procure so much favour as to go into the town, but were admitted to the sally-port, to which place she was accompanied by a guard, who might hear the discourse that passed between them; Quarter-master-general Gravener, and some other officers, accompanied them, and were entertained with a collation of horse flesh and a bottle or two of wine, the best accommodation they could treat them with, which they ate heartily, and liked.

Horse flesh now began to be as precious as the choicest

meats before, the soldiers in general, and all officers and gentlemen, from the lords to the lowest degree or quality, eating nothing else, except cats and dogs, which the enemy disgusted very much, daily expecting a surrender; by the assurance of which, they constantly encouraged their soldiers to a continuance of the hard duty they then underwent, who otherwise would have been scarcely kept together, being often upon the march, either into the country, or to join those in the town.

It was now grown so delicious a food amongst the soldiers, that they could scarcely secure their horses in the stables, for every morning one stable or other was robbed, and the horses knocked on the head and sold in the shambles by the pound; nor was there in a short time a dog left, for it was customary for each soldier to reserve a part of his ammunition loaf, and in a morning walk the streets, so if he discovered a dog, drop a piece of bread and decoy him on within his reach, and then knock his brains out; till at length dogs became so scarce that six shillings was given for the side of a small one.

The enemy perceiving they could not work upon them by summons, threats, nor force of arms, had recourse to petty stratagems, sometimes sending false news of great victories over the Scots, and lists of prisoners taken that were never in arms, with a variety of such like whimsies, hoping thereby to terrify the private men, and bring them to a timorous apprehension of their condition, which might probably force their officers, by their mutinous resolutions, to treat for conditions, to leave them in the lurch, which the enemy wished.

They also sent private papers into the town amongst the soldiers, by women, incensing them against their officers, reproaching them with the odious name of rebels, and men acting against the peace of the kingdom without proper commission, which they hoped would so poison the minds of the soldiers, that if they would not mutiny, yet at least they would be incensed against their officers and quit the line, by which loss they would have been so weakened, as to have been easily stormed and taken.

But instead of receiving any benefit by these stratagems, they wrought nothing more than an injury to themselves; as it engaged the soldiers to higher resolutions.

Then they shot arrows into the town with papers fastened

to them, promising the men, if they would desert the town, they should have fair quarters, pardon for what they had done, and liberty to go to their own homes, with passes from the general, without being plundered or suffering the least injury; but this proved of no benefit to them, but still exasperated and enlivened the soldiers, who were so courageous in their resolutions, as very often to express, "that they would either live with liberty, or die with honour," neither of which could arise by a poor submission of an ignoble enemy.

But the enemy had now possessed themselves of all places of conveniency and advantage round about the town, and began to annoy them very much in divers parts of the line, from the opposite and flanking houses, and the magazines began to grow very low of powder, so an order was given out that the men should be careful and not waste it by firing without a real occasion; and that no gunner should fire a cannon without the command of a field officer of his post, or a general officer of the field.

But these houses under the line proved so obnoxious, that by degrees they made that line almost too hot for any to abide it; and the enemy having found this advantage, drew thicker down upon the suburbs, under shelter of the houses, which the officers being sensible of, and knowing there remained no securer remedy, sallied out amongst them, and beat them out of the streets, and set fire to some houses, having first given orders to those inhabitants who remained in them, to secure and convey away their goods; and those which lay immediately under the line and wall, they first pulled down, that the materials might be preserved, and the less prejudice done to the town and owners; which should they have let stand, would have proved so miserable an inconveniency, that they could not have maintained the town half an hour; or had the enemy ever attempted a resolute storm when once they had beset them so close; as in many places the stairs came up to the top of the wall in the highest parts of it, so large that two or three men might have come up a-brest, and some rooms equalled the height of the wall in a perfect diameter. And if the enemy had taken no other benefit but the opportunity of a wind and set fire to them, they might probably have set fire to the whole town; which they attempted the first night, and once afterwards had effected, had not the wind been very calm, and the men ex-

traordinary diligent in quenching the flames as fast as they fired.

On Friday, the 11th, more arrows were again shot into the town; to entice the soldiers with alluring charms, intermixed with severe threats, to abandon the service; intimating, that if they came not away before the next Monday, not a man that came after should have any quarter; which messages the soldiers resented so much, that they were resolved to answer it by the same messengers, and took some of their own arrows, anointing them with a t——d, and wrapping the same in paper, fastened to the head of the arrows, and wrote on the paper this superscription, (An answer from Colchester, August 11th, 1648, as you may smell) Intimating thereby how far they regarded their baits or esteemed their threatenings.

The greatest part of the horse now had changed their stables for slaughter-houses, and their riders, being willingly dismounted, took up with foot arms, the gentlemen halberts, and the private troopers scythes, ready fitted with long staves for the service, which were very terrible for execution; and there were many scythes found in the town upon a search for arms, more than ever were known to be in the town before; many brown bills were also made in the town, so that no man need be idle for want of arms; these men were all enlisted in particular companies, under the lord general, Lord Capell and Sir Charles Lucas; Lord Capell marching himself on foot, with a halbert on his shoulder at the head of his company to the guard, that none might make a scruple or be dissatisfied with it; which company lay constantly upon reserve, in tents built purposely for them: which point of war must of necessity arise from as high a conveniency as any, and indeed was a course constantly practiced amongst the best and most judicious conquerors of the world, and they have left arguments for its support in the chronology of divers victories obtained, and lost fields recovered by fortunate and resolute reserves, although but of small numbers, of which we will instance one Serverus, the emperor, who in a battle against Albinus, general of the Britons, before Lugdenhum, was himself put to flight, beat off his horse and hid himself, whilst the Britons followed the chace, chanting out their praise as victors; till Lætus, one of Serverus's officers, stopping behind with some fresh troops, and renewing a charge, the Serverians took heart again, and mounting Ser-

verus, put on his purple surtout (a military mantle), when the Albanians thinking themselves masters of the field, being disordered and furiously charged by fresh troops, after a short resistance fled, the Serverians following them to the city gates, did vast execution.

Now these companies were not the only reserves, for it was the constant method of duty in the army generally, to lie every regiment on their several posts, the one half upon guard, and the other all night very near, at the most convenient place.

Thus they maintained and held the town in defiance of the enemy (this being the 17th day of August), still cherishing hopes of relief, having yet no certain intelligence of the state of affairs in the other parts of the kingdom, nor relief approaching, and their stores very much wasted, insomuch that the corn was very near spent, and little ammunition left to maintain the action.

Therefore, at a general council of war, his excellency Lord Norwich, Lord Capell, and Sir Charles Lucas, signed letters to Lord Fairfax, desiring him to grant them 20 days respite and a pass through their quarters, for some gentlemen whom they would send to Sir Marmaduke Langdale, in order to receive information of his condition; and if that they found him as the enemy had given out, not advancing, and that there were no hopes of redress from any other quarter, they would then treat for surrender.

But this request being rejected, they sent out private spies and messengers, and concluded in a general resolution to maintain and defend the town to the last; and not to be idle with the enemy, but as active as the scarcity of ammunition would admit; and accordingly sent out a party every day or night to the sally-port, who went on the duty with alertness, and proved very troublesome to the enemy, keeping them upon constant duty.

The poor people of the place next petitioned Lord Fairfax for liberty to leave the town, and disperse into the country amongst their friends, who they pretended would keep them from famishing; but he did not think proper to grant their request, on the contrary, gave orders to his army round the leaguer, if any turned out to fire at them; at the same time they were told by pretended friends in the town, inveterate enemies to the party, that they had made a proclamation,

that whoever had not 20 days provision in their houses should leave the town, as well rich as poor; at which time search being again made, few were found to have provision for more than two or three days, and the enemy having this order, it would have been a very ungenerous act to have forced so many people through a sally-port; besides the attempt was dangerous, as they were just ready to mutiny, and would certainly have done so directly, had they forced them from their own houses upon the swords of their enemy.

The stores were then again reviewed, and the magazines also, when the stores were found so empty as not to yield above two or three days provision of bread for the army, and the magazine not to maintain two hours fight if a storm should happen, upon which a council of war was again summoned, and it was agreed, that it was the best course to treat with the enemy: which motion being carried by a majority of voices, letters were accordingly drawn up, and Dr. Glyston, a physician, then living in the town, employed in the message; who the next morning returned from the enemy, bringing this answer from the general.

“THAT as they had held out so long against him, and to the utmost denied his summons, the best conditions they must expect from him, must be to submit to mercy; for that only the inferior officers and soldiers should have liberty to go to their own homes.”

This answer displeased them much, and they were resolved not to surrender on those dishonourable conditions.

On Tuesday the 22nd, early in the morning, more arrows were shot into the town at several places of the line, with letters fastened to them, as follows:

“August 21st, 1648.

“WHEREAS on Sunday last, in a letter to Lord Goring, Lord Capell, and Sir Charles Lucas, conditions were offered to all private soldiers and inferior officers, under captains, to have leave to go to their homes without injury or violence; and all superior officers, lords, and gentlemen, to submit to mercy; and whereas the same hath been concealed from the soldiers and inferior officers aforesaid; nevertheless, if they will, before Thursday next, lay hold on the said conditions, and come away in a body from the enemy, the same conditions shall be performed to them which hath been offered, but in case they should suffer the town's-people (whom we will not receive) to be turned out of the town, and suffer them to perish under the walls, they must expect no mercy; and if the

towns-men, who were in arms, should join with the soldiery in coming forth in a body as aforesaid, they should also be free from violence.

This stratagem they thought would have infused such a wild-fire in the mutinous brains of the lower rank of people, as would in an instant have invited the soldiery to deliver their officers up as sacrifices to obtain their own liberty; but their hopes were also disappointed in this; for, instead of a complaisant acceptance of these propositions, they resolved to accept of no conditions wherein their officers should not receive the same benefit.

The council of war having also the day before permitted Dr. Glyston to go out again, and Mr. Sheffield (one of the committee-men, who was then prisoner in the town, brought from Chelmsford) to mediate with the general for the people of the town, sent also by him other letters concerning the soldiery for conditions of surrender, but the following answer was returned:

“THAT they had given a former account of what conditions they would give; those they would stand to, and no other must be expected.”

And now being drawn to a sad exigency, and plunged into grater extremities, it was not for them to prolong time, but rather add wings to their resolutions, and close up their misfortunes as well as they could with an honourable conclusion, and with the best condition and greatest expedition that could be.

They had scarce left one cat or dog in the town; some horses they had yet alive, but not many, for there were at that time in the commissary's accout, a list of 730 horses which had been killed by him, and orderly distributed out; besides those that the soldiers had stolen out of the stables and killed, and others that gentlemen had slaughtered for their own private tables, which made the number above 800; and as for bread, there was not corn left for one day's provision, and many mouths to feed; they had made all kind of corn the town would afford, as malt, barley, oats, wheat, rye, pease, and all they could recover, into bread, for eight weeks together, to lengthen the store, and still contented to undergo any hardship that might probably tend to the advancement of the general good; but their hopes were now quite dissolved into absolute fear of unavoidable ruin.

Yet this ghastly appearance could not exile that incompa-

nable courage which generally inspired them with lively actions and patient sufferings, as if it had been equally indifferent to them, contentedly to undergo prosperity or misfortunes; all men's resolutions were on fire to desperate designs, by some unprecedented attempt, desirous of ruining their enemy, or to perish nobly in the enterprise.

The meanest of the soldiers as yet holding a conformable obedience to the commands of their officers, undaunted in their courage, and courageous in their actions, notwithstanding the many designs and political engines the enemy had employed to alienate them from their duty, and dishearten them in their service; but lest there might be any misunderstanding betwixt the soldiers and their officers, upon putting any design in execution, the following engagement was drawn up and signed by all the officers and gentlemen through the quarters.

"WE whose names are hereunto written, do, in the presence of Almighty God, protest against all conditions, which are or shall be sent from the enemy, by which our liberties may be infringed, and our honours blemished. And we do upon our honours, solemnly engage ourselves not to desert one another, nor the foot soldiers, till, by God's assistance, we have forced our passage through all that shall oppose us, or perish in the act, which we attest this 23rd of August, 1648."

The next day (being Thursday the 24th) the enemy sent a paper kite into the town, which hovering a considerable time over it, that the soldiers might take notice thereof, at last they let drop into the town, with many papers fixed to it, to the same purpose as those before shot in with arrows, and with them a book, containing, The relation of a victory over the Scots, and their general Rout. Within two hours after which they made a general triumph through their leaguer, giving a valley both of small and great shot round the town in all quarters, and some of the shot playing thick into the town, gave a very strong alarm, and as great hopes that it was either the fore-runner of a storm, or the beginning of one, till it was found to be beyond and about the windmill, below East-street; at the same time their assurances were so strong of gaining a victory without blows, that they thought it would be best policy to forbear, although they had drawn their approaches so near the line under Berry-fields, by the shelter of a wall (which is yet standing) that the soldiers

from both trenches of the line might talk together, and throw stones at one another, as they frequently did.

On Friday the 25th, the council of war met again early in the morning, at which they resolved to send General Fairfax the following letter into the leaguer.

“ THAT since he denied to treat upon conditions that were honourable, notwithstanding their actions and demeanours in the service had been nothing but what became their honour and fidelity, if he were pleased to make an attempt of attacking them, he should not need to spring any mine, as he boasted they had already done; but that any gate about the town that he should make choice of, should be set open, and his entrance disputed afterwards.”

But he thought himself sure of having them at an easier rate than the loss of so much blood, which a surprise of such a nature must have cost him, even if he had carried it, which he hardly would have done; and indeed it was his best policy not to storm them at all, since he had leisure enough to wait for their destruction; which if he had done by raising any part thereof, though in small parties only, at that time, they might have forced him either to have attempted a surprise by storm, or fairly retreated with the hazard of his honour, if not his army; for had he stormed the town, it would have endangered the shattering of his whole body, the edge of whose fury was by this time quite taken off, and they frightened at the scythes and scalding pitch, which was kept boiling in iron pots and caldrons every night round the line, with long ladles to cast it over the rampart upon them, had they began their storming.

But considering the melancholy condition they were plunged into, through the defeat of the Scots and the want of provision to subsist, not having any hopes of holding out two days longer, unless without bread; it was the final resolution of the council of war, to draw out the whole party that night to arms, both horse and foot, with what ammunition was left, and as many short scaling ladders as could be procured, and in the dead time, when least expected, to set open two of the gates, and march out and storm their line, so falling into their head-quarters, beat up their whole army and relieve themselves, or force a march through all opposition, which they should endeavour to throw in the way, or perish in the attempt; and that if the privates should entertain any suspicion that the gentlemen and officers who had yet horses,

should seek for their own safety by flight, and leave every man (except the general and major-general) to pistol his own horse at the head of them; which being agreed on, and secrecy enjoined, every one receiving his orders according to his duty of the undertaking, the council broke up, and every man betook himself, with the utmost of his endeavours, to make preparation for the intended expedition at night.

The enemy had this day planted four great pieces of battering cannon against Berry-fields, and fired about 140 shot in the forenoon, against the old wall, but did very little hurt; only beat off the tops of two old ruined towers upon it, and killed three men.

This served as a fit alarm for calling the soldiers to the line, where they might, unexpectedly, be in readiness for the intended sally at night, without bag or baggage, it being concluded to leave the same behind; knowing that if they gained the hoped-for victory they could command them again, and the enemy's also; and if they failed, they should have no need of them.

This, no doubt, would have been a desperate enterprize; and had it proceeded to action, it might in all probability have been attended with victory, and turned not only to liberty, but (as they deemed it) the freedom and peace of the whole kingdom; as it happened in Paris, when the Duke of Burbon being besieged, and so distressed, that his soldiers called out to him to yield rather than to starve, made a resolute sally upon the French army, destroyed the whole body, and took the king prisoner.

All things being got in readiness before night came on, and the ammunition and scaling ladders brought to a particular place, ready to be carried to the line; some time before night, there were some officers who alledged many arguments, that it would certainly be better to defer it till the next night, because, they pretended, that they should then be in a far better condition for the work; at whose intercession it was put off.

And that night a mutinous spirit was insinuated into some of the soldiers, that the officers and gentlemen were resolved, the ensuing night, or very suddenly, to break away through the leaguer, and leave them to shift for themselves; which spark rose to such a flame, as proved a presaging comet to succeeding ruin; and those soldiers so remarkable for their loyalty before, now gave a curb to that courageous spirit that

had guided their actions in obedience; and poisoning their disturbed brains, hurried them into a frenzy of desperate mutiny round the line; so high was the mutiny grown before day-light, that it was rather likely to end in immediate ruin of themselves and officers, than a pacification; as the enemy never wanted their incendiaries to aggravate and encourage any mischief which might post forward destruction, being assured that it would not only add fire to this contention, but give the enemy notice thereof, that they might make the best use of it.

Notwithstanding all endeavours to pacify and allay this mutiny, it proceeded so far that the men left their guards, and assembled in crouds about the line, who at last, while the council of war was sitting, selected from among themselves about thirty persons, whom they sent to the council, demanding to know what their intentions were, saying,

“That if they would not make and offer conditions for them, and such as they should like, they would article for themselves over the line, and leave their officers to provide themselves, as they understood their officers would have done by them.”

This put the council of war into great disorder and confusion, the soldiers, till then, never having before acted unlike the most gallant fellows that ever defended a town; and had suffered the greatest inconveniencies that ever men did, with an extraordinary cheerfulness, never shewing the least discontent at any orders which were given.

The persons aforesaid, on coming to the house where the council sat, sent in two men, whom they supposed to be able speakers, and on being called up, Lord Norwich assured them of the falsity of their allegation; to confirm which, he also gave them a true account and understanding of the design.

After which, his lordship made the following declaration:

“That the lords and gentlemen concerned in the engagement, were so far from deserting the private soldiers, or seeking for or desiring any benefit or advantage which should be confined to themselves only, exclusive of the said soldiers; that on the contrary, they were fully resolved to become a prey, and submit to the mercy of their enemies; nay, throw themselves into the greatest inconveniencies and hardships which the cruelty of a bloody and merciless enemy could oppress them with, sooner than not free the inferior soldiery from suffering; and that it was their sincere desire to deliver themselves up prisoners to the enemy, if thereby they could purchase them an honourable liberty; for which purpose, commissioned gentlemen were now treating with Lord Fairfax.”

To which declaration the men returned this answer,
 "That they desired not any liberty which should be purchased at so dear
 a price."

The soldiers being pacified and dismissed, it was resolved to send a gentleman from the council then sitting, to treat with the enemy for conditions, being frustrated of all hopes of longer subsistence or security, or a possibility of attempting any further design.

About this time Lord Fairfax offered Lord Capell's son in exchange for one of the committee-men, who was a prisoner in the town; but the loyal gentlemen refused it, and Lord Capell in particular wrote word to General Fairfax, that it was inhuman to surprise his son, who was not in arms, and afterwards offer him to insult the affection of a father; however, he might murder his son if he thought proper so to do, and he would leave his blood to be revenged as Heaven should think fit.

The enemy also complained that the royalists shot poisoned bullets amongst them, and sent two affidavits, which had been made by two deserters, who swore that it was done by the direction of Lord Norwich; but the officers in the town replied, that the deserters were perjured in running from their colours, and therefore not to be regarded, having fired rough-cast bullets only, which could not be avoided in their condition.

After this, Colonel Samuel Tuke was dispatched with full power to accept of any conditions he could obtain, and to conclude before he came back, who did not return till late in the evening, yet time enough to let them know the sad conclusion they were like to have; as General Fairfax (at the instigation of his council of war) had fallen from those conditions which formerly he offered, and now began to insult over their miseries, and the best conditions that could be obtained, were to deliver themselves up, the soldiers prisoners of war, with all officers, under captains and gentlemen, to submit to mercy; and that they should release the committee-men, who were prisoners, the next morning, if they expected any favour.

Next morning, Sunday, August 27, the council of war met again, and this account being given in, there was no refuge or remedy left, nor any thing to trust to, but what conditions the enemy would give; the committee was therefore imme-

diately dispatched, and Colonel Tuke, with five other officers, sent out again to the enemy, to confirm and sign the articles for surrender, and the manner of delivery; who returned towards evening, and brought with them the following articles, signed by the commissioners on both sides, which were put in execution the next morning.

1. THAT all the horses belonging to the officers, soldiers, and gentlemen engaged at Colchester, with saddles and bridles to them, shall be brought into St. Mary's church-yard, by nine o'clock to-morrow morning, and the spare saddles and bridles into the church, and delivered without wilful spoil to such as the lord general shall appoint to take charge of them.

2. That all the arms, colours, and drums, belonging to any person in Colchester above-mentioned, should be brought into St. James's church by ten o'clock to-morrow morning, and delivered without wilful spoil or embezzlement to such as the lord general shall appoint to take charge of them.

3. That all private soldiers, and officers, under captains, shall be drawn together into the Fryar's yard, adjoining to East-gate, by ten o'clock to-morrow morning, with their cloaths and baggage; their persons to surrender into the custody of such as the said general shall appoint to take charge of them, and that they shall have fair quarters.

4. That the lords, and all captains and superior officers, and gentlemen of distinction, engaged at Colchester, shall be drawn together to the King's-head, with their cloaths, &c. by eleven o'clock to-morrow morning, and there submit themselves to the mercy of the lord general, into the hands of such as he shall appoint to take charge of them; and that a list of the names of all the general and field officers, now in command in the town, be sent out to the lord general, by nine o'clock in the morning.

5. That all the guards within the town of Colchester, shall be withdrawn from the line, forts, and other places, by eight o'clock to-morrow morning, and such as the lord general shall appoint shall come in their room.

6. That all the ammunition shall be preserved where it lies, to be delivered to his excellency's train by ten o'clock to-morrow morning; and the waggons, the property of the soldiers or persons concerned, with the harness, shall be brought to some convenient place near the ammunition, to be delivered as above.

7. That the sick and wounded in the town be there kept and provided for, with every thing requisite for men in their condition, and not be removed thence until they be recovered, and have such surgeons allowed them as are in town.

8. That the ordnance in the town, with their appurtenances, shall, without wilful spoil, be left in the platforms and places where they are now planted, and to be delivered to his excellency's guards who shall take care of those places respectively.

9. That from henceforth there shall be a cessation of arms on both parts; but the forces within the town to keep their own guards, and the lord general to keep theirs until they shall be removed according to the foregoing articles.

At the surrender there was but one barrel and a half of powder left; many great shot remained in Lord Capell's quarters, which the enemy had fired into the town, and the soldiers gathering up, sold to him for six-pence a bullet.

Articles of surrender were no sooner signed, but many horses were taken forcibly out of the stables by the soldiers of the leaguer, who flocked into the town before the gates were opened, contrary to the articles, and plundered every thing they could lay their hands on.

And now began the last scene of this tragedy; the lords and gentlemen, according to the articles, met at the King's-head, and the rest of the army at their appointed places, and all things were ordered according to conditions; about two o'clock Lord Fairfax entered the town, and rode round to view the line and shew himself in triumph to the inferior soldiers, but came not near the lords; on surveying the town, he found a just cause for admiration, and wondered how it was possible it could be maintained so long against him, whose very name, as he thought, was enough to conquer.

He then went to his quarters in the town, where a council of war immediately met, according to his appointment, and then sent Colonel Ewers to the King's-head, to visit, as it was thought, the lords and gentlemen, but he brought a sentence of death in his heart, though not immediately in his mouth, which easily discovered itself in his death-like countenance; and coming up into the chamber, saluted the lords, and came to Sir Charles Lucas, and with a sighing gesture, told him the general desired to speak to him at the council of war, with Sir George Lisle, Sir Bernard Gasquoine and Colonel Farre, the latter of whom was not there; upon which, Sir Charles Lucas, as presaging what indeed afterwards followed, took his solemn leave of the lords and the rest of his fellow prisoners near him, calling to Sir George Lisle and Sir Bernard Gasquoine, who went with him, leaving the rest

of the gentlemen with sympathizing souls sighing prayers for them, as they might well imagine the fate awaiting them.

The lords and gentlemen sat thus expostulating with their discontents, still revolving in their distracted minds what would be the event; about an hour after which, a messenger arrived from Sir Charles Lucas, desiring that a chaplain might be immediately sent to him; this struck a dead sorrow in the hearts of all. And the lords (desiring that no man might be a particular sufferer in so general a cause) called up captain Cannon, an officer of the parliament's, and entreated him to hasten to the council of war, and desire them, in behalf of the prisoners, that they would not make those gentlemen, they had taken from them, any greater sufferers than they intended all; who being all equally concerned in all transactions, it was but just for all to share alike in suffering, more especially as it was their particular desire so to be used. But all could take no effect on them, having passed sentence without calling the convicted to the court or bar.

General Fairfax, with his council of war, were then sitting in the town-hall, and the worthy, though unfortunate knights, locked up in an apartment belonging to the same, with a strong guard placed at the door. After a short debate in the council, the prisoners were ordered to be brought forth; which being done, they were told by the said council,

"That after so long and obstinate a defence, it was highly necessary, for the example of others, that some military justice should be executed; therefore the council hath determined, that they, Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, should be immediately shot."

The condemned, though not convicted knights, were then immediately conducted to the castle; soon after which, Colonel Ireton coming to them, said, "They must prepare themselves for death; for the sentence which had been passed, was to be executed upon them directly." Sir Charles Lucas asked him, "By what law they were to die; or whether by an ordinance of parliament, by the council of war, or by command of the general?" To which Ireton returned for answer, "That it was by vote of the council of war, according to an order of parliament; by which order, all that were found in arms, were to be proceeded against as traitors."

Sir Charles Lucas then replied, "Alas, you deceive yourselves! me you cannot; we are conquered—and must be what you please to make us." Which words he expressed

with a countenance as cheerful as one going to a banquet, rather than death, not shewing the least symptom of fear; but as it were scorning death as much as he did the instruments who pronounced his sentence. He then desired time till the next morning, in order to settle some things in this world, and to fit and prepare his soul for another; but that request being denied him, he went on again as follows:

“Sir, do not think I make this request out of any desire I have to live, or escape the death you have sentenced me to, for I scorn to ask life at your hand; but that I might have time to make some addresses to God above, and settle some things below, that I might not be hurried out of this world with all my sins about me;—but since your charity will not grant it, I must submit to the mercy of God, whose holy will be done.—Do your worst—I shall soon be ready for execution.”

Sir George Lisle said very little, only in like manner, desired a little respite, that he might have time to write to his father and mother, but was also denied that favour.

Colonel Ireton then took leave of the prisoners, and as an antidote for the poison intended them, they went to prayers; and their devotion was scarce ended, before they were hurried out of the castle, and conducted to a green spot of ground on the north side of the same, a few paces from the wall, where they were received by three file of musqueteers who were to dispatch them.

At the place of execution those two English worthies were met by Colonels Ireton, Rainsborow, and Whaley, who were appointed to be actors, as well as spectators, in this inhuman tragedy, who found the loyal gentlemen ready to be sacrificed, appearing with as undaunted a resolution to receive their death wound, as they had often before dared it in the field of battle, where the boldest rebel never gained the least trophy of honour, by questioning their gallantry.

Sir Charles Lucas was fixed upon to be the first to be shot, and on being placed for that purpose, said, “I have often looked death in the face in the field of battle, and you shall now see I dare die.”

He again fell upon his knees, in which posture he remained a few minutes, and then rising, with a cheerful countenance, opened his doublet, and shewed them his breast, and placing his hands by his side, called out to his executioners, “See, I am ready for you, and now rebels do your worst.”

At the pronouncing the said words, they fired at him, and wounding him in several parts of the body, he fell without speaking a word more.

During the execution of Sir Charles Lucas, his friend and fellow-sufferer, Sir George Lisle, was conveyed a short distance off, that he might not see him fall; which being over, he was brought to the same place, for the conclusive part of this bloody scene to be performed. Sir George, on viewing the dead body of his friend, (which then lay bleeding on the ground) kneeled down and kissed it, uttering a funeral elegy in praise of the extraordinary parts of the deceased.

Then standing up, he took out of his pocket five pieces of gold, all the money he had about him, one he gave to be distributed amongst his executioners, and the other four to a person who stood near him, who had some years before been his servant. He desired the said person to deliver the money to his friends in London as his last legacy; concluding with some filial expressions of duty to his father and mother, and recommendations to some particular friends.

He then turned to the spectators and said as follows:

"Oh! How many of your lives, who are now present here, have I saved in hot blood, and must now myself be most barbarously murdered in cold! But what wicked act dare they not do, who would willingly cut the throat of my dear king, whom they have already imprisoned: for whose deliverance and the peace of this miserable and unhappy nation, I shall dedicate these my last prayers to heaven."

Sir George then looking those who were to execute him in the face, and thinking that they stood at too great a distance to do their work completely, desired them to come nearer to him; to which one of them answered, "I'll warrant ye, sir, we'll hit you." Upon which, Sir George, smiling, said, "I have been nearer you, when you have missed me."

He then kneeled down to prayers some minutes, and after uttering many invocations in the name of Jesus Christ, rose up, and said, "I am now ready; traitors, do your worst." Which words were hardly out of his mouth, before they fired at him, and some of the shot going through his body, he dropped and expired.

The dead bodies of those gentlemen were conveyed to St. Giles's church in Colchester, and both interred in a vault in the north aisle, belonging to the noble family of the Lucas's; over whose bodies (after the restoration of king Charles II.)

a large flat marble stone was laid at the expence of Lord Lucas, brother to the deceased Sir Charles Lucas, with the following inscription thereon, cut in letters very deep and large, to prevent the wearing them out, if possible, by time or accident.

The Inscription.

UNDER THIS MARBLE LIE THE BODIES OF

THE TWO MOST VALIANT CAPTAINS,

SIR CHARLES LUCAS

AND

SIR GEORGE LISLE, KNIGHTS,

WHO, FOR THEIR EMINENT LOYALTY

TO THEIR SOVERIGN,

WERE ON THE 28TH OF AUGUST, 1648,

BY THE COMMAND OF

SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX,

(GENERAL OF THE PARLIAMENT ARMY)

IN COLD BLOOD,

BARBAROUSLY MURDERED.

Sir Bernard Gasquoine was also ordered to be shot at the same time, and in the same place where Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle suffered, having received his sentence from the council of war, but being a gentleman of Florence, and having served the king in the war, afterwards remained in London till the adventure of Colchester, and then accompanied his friends thither: on being brought to the place of execution, asking, in broken English, for pen, ink, and paper, that he might write a letter to his prince, the great Duke, that his highness might know in what manner he lost his life, and that his heirs might possess his estate; the officer attending the execution, thought fit to acquaint the general and council, without which he durst not allow him pen and ink, which he thought he might reasonably demand; but when they were informed of it, they thought it a matter worthy some consideration, as they had chosen him out of the list only for his quality, conceiving him to be an English gentleman; and preferred him for being a knight, that they might sacrifice three of that rank.

After a consultation, Sir Bernard was ordered to be brought back, and kept with the prisoners, most of the council being of opinion, that if they took away the life of a foreigner, who seemed to be a person of quality, their friends or children who should visit Italy, might pay dear for many generations.

The two worthy knights, thus murdered, were men of great name and esteem in the war; the one being held as good a commander of horse, and the other of foot, as the nation had.

Sir Charles Lucas was the younger brother of Lord Lucas, and his heir both to title and estate, and had a present fortune of his own. He had been bred in the low countries, under the Prince of Orange, and always amongst the horse. He was brave in his person, and in a day of battle, a gallant man to follow.

Sir George Lisle was a gentleman of liberal education equal with the other; and at the same time an officer of foot; had a similar courage, and led his men to battle with such an alacrity, that no man was ever better followed, his soldiers never forsaking him; and the party he commanded, never left any thing undone which he led them upon; but then, to his fierceness of courage, he had the softest and most gentle nature imaginable; kind to all, and beloved by every one; without a capacity to have an enemy.

This bloody sacrifice being ended, Fairfax, with the chief officers, went to visit the prisoners; and the general (who was an indifferent orator on the most plausible occasions) applied with his civility to the Earl of Norwich, and Lord Capell, seeming, in some degree, to excuse the having done, he said, "the military justice required; that the lives of the rest were safe, and that they should be well treated, and disposed of as the parliament should direct."

Lord Capell had not so soon digested this so late barbarous proceeding, as to receive a visit from those who caused it, with such a return as his condition might have prompted to him; but said, "That the general should have received their thanks, if he had saved the lives of those brave knights who had been executed, and which they valued more than their own; that as they were equally concerned, and acted alike in the engagement of the whole affair, they should have shared one fate; therefore, Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the officers, would do well to finish their work, by executing the same rigour on the rest."

This reply was very displeasing to Fairfax and the other officers; Ireton in particular seemed under much discontent thereat; and several sharp and bitter expressions passed between Ireton and his lordship, which cost his lordship his life a few months after.

The lords, and some other gentlemen, were then drawn out, and conducted to Mr. Warren's house, opposite the King's-head; before which time, the lords and gentlemen were all kept in one room. This being done, Sir Thomas Fairfax gave parliament an account of his proceedings, in a letter to the Earl of Manchester, the day after the surrender of the town, of which the following is an exact copy, as printed by authority.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Manchester, Speaker of the Honourable House of Peers.

MY LORD,

"I HAVE herewith sent you the articles, upon which it hath pleased God, in his best time, to deliver the town of Colchester, and the enemy therein, into your hands without further bloodshed, seeing that for some satisfaction to military justice, and in part of avenge for the innocent blood they have caused to be spilt, and the trouble, damage, and mischief they have brought upon the town, this country, and the kingdom, I have, with

the advice of a council of war, of the chief officers, both of the country forces and the army, ordered two of them, who were rendered at mercy, to be shot, before any of them had quarter assured them. The persons pitch'd upon for this example, were Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle; in whose military execution, I hope your lordships will not find cause to think your honour or justice prejudiced. As for Lord Goring, Lord Capell, and the rest of the prisoners rendered to mercy, and now assured of quarter, of whose names I have sent your lordships a particular list, I do hereby render to the parliament's judgment for further public justice and mercy, to be used as you shall see cause. I desire God may have the glory of his multiplied mercies towards you and the kingdom, at this kind, and in the condition of instruments as to the service here, the officers and soldiers of Essex and Suffolk, (who in this time of so dangerous defection, have adhered constantly to yours and the kingdom's interest) for their faithful demeanour and patient endurance in the hardships of this service, are not to be forgotten.

"Your lordships

"Most humble servant,

"Hythe, Aug. 29, 1648."

"T. FAIRFAX."

List of the prisoners who delivered themselves up on the surrender of Colchester, August 28, 1648.

COMMANDER IN CHIEF—The Earl of Norwich

LORDS and GENTLEMEN—Lord Capell, Lord Loughborow, Sir Bernard Gasquoine, Sir Abr. Shipman, Sir John Watts, Sir Lodowick Dyer, Sir Henry Appleton, Sir Dennard Strutt, Sir Hugh Oriley, Sir Rich. Maulyverer.

COLONELS—Sir William Compton, Gilbourne, Farre, Hammond, Chester, Till, Heath, Tuke, Ayloffe, Sawyer.

LIEUTENANT-COLONELS—Culpepper, Lancaster, Gough, Powell, Ashton, Bagley, Wiseman, Smith.

MAJORS—Aescott, Smith, Armstrong, Ward, Bayley, Neale, Scarrow, Blyncot, Glennings.

CAPTAINS—Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, Wicks, Pits, Bully, Burge, Barthope, Linsey, Myldmay, Osbaldiston, Estwick, Lovell, Cooper, Blunt, Snellgrave, Dynors, Duffen, Goring, Ward, Busbey, Pain, Hemor, Smith, Kenington, Heath, Newton, Bayley, Stephens, Lodge, Lynn, White.

MASTER-GENERAL—Edward Goodyeare.

COMMISSARY-GENERAL—Trouley.

MASTER of the ORDNANCE—Francis Loveless.

QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL—Matthew Carter.

WAGGONMASTER-GENERAL—Graviston.

SERVANTS attending the lords and gentlemen.....	65
LIEUTENANTS	72
ENSIGNS and CORNETS.....	69
SERGEANTS	183
RANK and FILE.....	3067

TOTAL (including the lords, gentlemen, &c.).....3530

The Rev. Mr. Spragg, who was chaplain to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and wrote *Anglia Rediviva*; or *The Conduct of the Parliament Army under Fairfax*, gives the following character of Sir Charles Lucas.

“He was an active enemy and good soldier. When governor of Berkley Castle, and summoned to surrender, he returned this answer, I will eat horse-flesh before I will yield; and when that is done, man’s flesh. He was a soldier of reputation and valour.”

And he accordingly proved very successful in the defence of that castle, and surrendered to Colonel Rainsborow upon honourable terms, after a storm.

He did great execution with part of his regiment, betwixt Slymbridge and Baverston Castle, upon Colonel Massey’s garrison.

He also forced his way through the rebels quarters at Cawood Castle, in the most valiant and courageous manner, insomuch that his name ever afterwards became a terror to his enemies.

His gallant behaviour at Marlstone Moor will likewise never be forgotten, where he gave the great General Fairfax so fatal a blow, that he could never forgive him; and for which stroke, in revenge, it is thought, he took away his life at Colchester, having often been heard to threaten him.

The brave deportment and admirable behaviour of Sir George Lisle, in like manner, will ever redound to his lasting honour: he behaved with great valour and resolution at Bramdeane Heath.

His incomparable gallantry betwixt Newbury and Spine, will never be forgotten; an account whereof is here inserted, as taken from an impartial and sincere hand.

“As for Colonel Lisle (says he) we want language to express his carriage; for he did all things with as much judgment, cheerfulness, and expedition, as had a particular influence on every common soldier, taking the utmost care of all excepting himself; in short, he gave the rebels three most gallant charges; the first, for the Crown; the second, for

Prince Charles; and the third, for the Duke of York; which proved a finishing stroke, for he charged them so home, that those who were not killed, ran away, and never faced him more; nay, he declared, that had they stood his attacks, he intended to have charged in the name of all the king's children, till he had not left one rebel alive in the field to fight against the crown, or the royal progeny.

"In which engagement Sir George had no armour on, besides courage, a good cause, and a Holland shirt; for as he seldom wore defensive arms, so he now pulled off his buff-doublet, intending thereby to animate his men; and as it was dark when the battle commenced, they might the easier discern him, from whom they were to receive direction and courage."

But to return: on reading Fairfax's letter in the house of commons, a resolute gentleman rose, and said,

"Mr. Speaker, I know, notwithstanding what is otherwise pretended in this letter, that neither the town of Colchester, nor county of Essex, desired any severity to be used towards those gentlemen, nor are they satisfied therewith; and therefore, I suppose, the pretence of justice, mentioned in Fairfax's letter, was wholly an act of revenge."

To which no reply was made, but frowns and foul looks, implying their disgust.

Another gentleman also stood up, and was bold enough to say,

"I am of opinion, that the executing these two gentlemen, was done on purpose to put an affront upon the treaty, and to grieve and exasperate his majesty."

But lest honesty should grow too confident, and thereby be encouraged to speak what they were unwilling to hear, a debate was resumed, which way to dispose of, and proceed against, those lords and others rendered to the mercy of the parliament; after which, proper instructions were dispatched to Fairfax, who had not been idle all this time, for he no sooner sent the letter to parliament, than he laid a fine of 13,000*l.* on the inhabitants of Colchester, whith wich sum he proposed to pay the army.

The general then distributed the officers to every regiment, a certain number of gentlemen who were prisoners, as slaves to the gallies, to ransom themselves, and most of them afterwards purchased their liberties, by giving as much as they were able for the same, and returned home; in like manner they disposed of the greatest part, excepting those who bore a principal command.

The private soldiers and inferior officers were drawn from the line, and shut up in churches, where they immediately placed guards over them, and gave free liberty to their foot soldiers to go and pillage them; so that in a very short time there were very few or none left with any cloaths on them, and hardly shirts; and having thus stripped them, they marched them away on a day, when it rained violently, and conducted them from place to place in the country, lodging them in churches and such places, till many of them were starved, and divers, who could not march by reason of their faintness, they pistolled in the highways, and some they sold to be transported into foreign countries, from their wives and children.

Prodigious numbers were also conveyed to several prisons, as far distant from their homes as they could contrive; some to Windsor, others to Oxford, Lynn, in Norfolk, Warwick, Pendennis, St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall, Arundel Castle, in Sussex, Gloucester, Hereford, Cardiff, in Glamorganshire, and other places.

Lord Capell and the Earl of Norwich were soon after removed to Windsor Castle, where they were kept prisoners till the 7th of March following, and then brought to a trial in the Painted Chamber, in Westminster Hall, where the Earl of Norwich behaved with great submission to the court, and with all those addresses as were most like to reconcile his judges to him, and to prevail over their affections; he spoke of his being bred up in the court from his cradle in the time of queen Elizabeth; of his having been a servant to king James all his reign; of his dependance on prince Henry, afterwards upon the late king; of his obligations to the crown, and his endeavours to serve it; and concluded as a man that would be beholden to them if they would give him leave to live.

But Lord Capell appeared undaunted, and utterly refused to submit to their jurisdiction, declaring, "That in the condition and capacity of a soldier and prisoner of war, the lawyers and gownsmen had nothing to do with him, and therefore he would not answer any thing they had said against him;" but insisted upon the law of nations, which exempted all prisoners, though submitting to mercy, from death, if it was not inflicted within so many days, which were long since expired. He urged the declaration which Fairfax, the general,

made to him and the rest of the prisoners, after the death of Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, that no other of their lives should be in danger, which he had witnesses ready to prove, if they might be admitted; and concluded, "That if he had committed any offence worthy of death, he might be tried by his peers; which was his right by the laws of the land, the benefit whereof he required." Ireton, who was present, and sat as one of the judges, denied that the general had made any such promise; and if he had, that the parliament's authority could not be restrained thereby; and put him in mind of his carriage at that time, and how much he rejected the general's civility. The other insisted still on the promise, and urged, that the general might be sent for and examined; which they knew not how to deny; but in regard of the indisposition of his health; they said they would send to him, and accordingly did.

But whether the question was well stated to Fairfax, or what was said to him to dissuade him from owning his declaration and promise, he boggled so much in his answer, that they would be of opinion, that he had not made such direct and positive promise; and that the same was never transmitted to the parliament, which it ought to have been; and that at most it could but exempt those prisoners from being tried before a court or council of war, and could not be understood as an obligation upon the parliament, not to give directions to such a legal proceeding against him, as they should find necessary for the peace and safety of the kingdom.

President Bradshaw also told Lord Capell, "That he was tried by judges which the parliament thought fit to assign him, who had judged a better man than himself." The sentence was accordingly pronounced, That he should lose his head.

The prisoner was therefore conducted to St. James's, where he was to remain till his execution, being two days after; during that short period, his friends and relations used every endeavour to preserve his life, by the authority of parliament, where there were many sitting who had not sat in judgment upon him, offering money to those who were willing to receive it, and made promises accordingly. But those who had the greatest credit were inexorable; yet dealt more honorable than the rest, by declaring, to those who solicited for him, that they would not endeavour to do him service. Ireton told them, If he had credit, Lord Capell should die. Others, who gave better words, had the same meaning.

The Earl of Norwich came next upon the stage, and being a man generally respected, having always lived a cheerful and jovial life, when the question was put concerning him, the house was equally divided, so that his life or death depended upon the single vote of the speaker, who told the house, "He had received many obligations from him; and that once when he had been liked to have incurred the king's displeasure, by some misinformation, which would have been penal to him, Lord Goring (under which stile he was treated, the additional of Norwich not being allowed by them upon their old rule) had, by his credit, preserved him, and removed the prejudice that was against him; and therefore he was obliged, in gratitude, to give his vote for saving him."

Lord Capell, shortly after he was brought prisoner to the Tower from Windsor Castle, had, by a wonderful adventure, having a cord and all things necessary conveyed to him, let himself down out of the window of his chamber in the night, over the wall of the Tower; and had been directed through what part of the ditch he might best be able to wade; but had he not been a tall man, he must have perished in the attempt, as the mud and water came up to his chin. The way was so long to the other side, and the fatigue of drawing himself out of so much mud, so intolerable, that his spirits were nearly spent, and ready to call for help, thinking it better to be carried back to prison, than to be found in such a situation, from whence he could not extricate himself, and ready to expire. But it pleased God that he got at last to the other side, where his friends expected him, and immediately conveyed him to a chamber in the Temple, where he remained two or three nights secure, notwithstanding the diligence used to recover a man whom they designed to destroy.

After which, a friend whom he trusted much, and who he might put confidence in, conceiving that he would be more secure in a place of less resort, provided a lodging for him in a private house in Lambeth Marsh; and calling upon his lordship in the evening, it being dark, to go thither, they chose to take any boat they found at the Temple-stairs, rather than trust one of those people with the secret. It being rather late, there was only one boat left, in which Lord Capell (as well disguised as he thought necessary) and his friend put themselves, and ordered the waterman to row them to Lambeth; but on their passage thither, the gentleman called him

my Lord, as was reported; or whether the waterman had any suspicion by observing what he thought a disguise, on landing he followed them, unperceived, till he saw into what house they entered, and then went to an officer, demanding what he would give him to take him to the place where Lord Capell lay? he answered, 10*l*. he therefore led him to the house, where his lordship was seized upon, and the next day carried to the Tower.

In this distressed situation his wife wrote a petition to parliament, which being read, many gentlemen spoke in his behalf, mentioning his great virtues and that he had never deceived them, or pretended to be of their party; but always declared for the king. And Cromwell, who had known him very well, spoke so highly of him, that every one thought he was now safe, when he concluded, "That his affection to the public so much weighed down his private friendship, that he could not but tell them, that the question was now, Whether they would preserve the most bitter and implacable enemy they had? That he knew Lord Capell very well, and knew that he would be the last man in England who would forsake the royal interest; that he had great courage, industry, and generosity; that he had many friends who would always adhere to him; and that as long as he lived, what condition soever he was in, he would be a thorn in their sides; and therefore, for the good of the common-wealth, he would give his vote against the petition."

Lord Capell finding that all the intercession his friends had made were to no purpose, and the time of his suffering near at hand, he wrote two letters to his disconsolate lady, (the first the day before, and the latter on the day of his execution) as follows:

"MY DEAREST LIFE,

"My greatest care in relation to the world, is for thy dear self, But, I beseech thee, that as thou hast never refused my advice hitherto, do thou now consummate all in this one: and indeed it is so important both to thee, me, and our children, that I presume passion shall not over-rule thy reason, and my request. I beseech thee, again and again, to moderate thy apprehension and sorrow for me, and thereby preserve thyself to the benefit of our dear children, whom God of his love in Christ Jesus hath given us; and our dear Molly (in the case she is in) and our comforts in that family, depend entirely upon thy preservation. I pray remember, that the occasion of my death, will give thee more cause to

celebrate my memory with praise, rather than to consider it with sadness. God had commanded my obedience to the fifth commandment, and for acting that duty I am condemned. I shall leave thee my children, in them to live with thee; and leave thee to the protection of a most gracious God. And I rest,

“Thy dear husband, &c.



MY DEAREST LIFE,

“My eternal life is in Christ Jesus; my worldly consideration in the highest degree, thou hast deserved. Let me live long here in thy dear memory, to the comfort of my family, our dear children, whom God out of mercy in Christ hath bestowed on us. I beseech thee take care of thy health; sorrow not unsoberly, unusually, God be unto thee better than an husband, and to my children better than a father. I am sure he is able to be so; I am confident, he is graciously pleased to be so. God be with thee, my most virtuous wife: God multiply many comforts to thee and my children, is the fervent prayer of

“Thy dearest husband, &c.”

On being called, he walked through Westminster Hall, saluting such of his friends and acquaintance as he saw, with a serene countenance, accompanied by his friend Dr. Morley, who had been with him from the time of his sentence; but at the foot of the scaffold, the soldiers stopping the doctor, his lordship took leave of him, and embracing him, said, “He should go no further;” having some apprehension that he might receive affront after his death. On his lordship’s ascending the scaffold, he looked very vigorously about, and asked, “Whether other lords spoke to the people with their hats on?” and being told that they were all bare; he then, with a clear and strong voice, said, “That he was brought thither to die, for doing that which he could not repent of;” and enlarged in commending the great virtue and piety of the king, whom they had put to death, and prayed to God to forgive the nation that innocent blood. Then recommended to them prince Charles; who, he told them, “was their true and lawful sovereign, and worthy to be so; that he was a prince of great understanding, of an excellent nature, of great courage, an entire lover of justice, and of exemplary piety; and advised them to submit to his government, as the only means to preserve themselves, their posterity, and the protestant religion.”

Having shewn the honour and integrity he had for his royal master and son, he desired that he might have time to prepare himself for the other world; saying, "He suffered, as many others had done before him, in defence of a royal martyr, whose virtues were inexpressible."—Then turning about, and looking for the executioner, who had gone off the scaffold, asked, "Which is the gentleman? Which is the man?" Answer was made, "He is coming." He then said, "Stay! I must put off my doublet first, and my waistcoat." The executioner being come upon the scaffold, Lord Capell said, "O friend! prithee come hither;" the executioner kneeling down, his lordship said, "I forgive thee from my soul; and not only forgive thee, but I shall pray to God to give thee all grace for a better life. There is five pounds for thee; as for my cloaths and other effects, if there be any thing due to you on that account, you shall be fully recompensed; but I desire my body may not be stripped here, but delivered to my servants; and I also desire, that when I lie down, you would allow me time for a particular short prayer, and when I lift up my right hand you may strike the blow."

His lordship then addressed the spectators as follows:

"FRIENDS and COUNTRYMEN,

"THE conclusion I made with those who sent me hither, and are the cause of this violent death of mine, shall be the beginning of what I shall say to you. In my last address to them, with much sincerity I told them, that I would pray to the God of all mercies, that they might be partakers of his inestimable and boundless mercies in Jesus Christ; and yet I continue that prayer; and beseech the God of Heaven to forgive the injury they have done me. I sincerely declare that I am a protestant, and much in love with the profession of it, after the manner of its being established in England, by the 39 articles: It is a blessed religion, I never knew any so good. I mention this to clear myself from a malicious aspersion flung upon me, viz. THAT I AM A PAPIST. I love and commend good works, but I believe they are not sufficient matters for salvation. My anchor-hold is, That Christ loved me, and gave himself for me.

"I shall now say something to you as a citizen of the world, in which capacity I appear, though condemned to die, contrary to the law which governs the world; I mean the law of the sword: I had the protection and honour of the sword, engaged for my life, but they have fallen from those promises and engagements; however, I shall say no more on that head.—You who are Englishmen, behold me, your countryman, and acknowledge a peer of the realm, not condemned to die by any of the laws

of England, but (which is more strange) contrary to the laws of this kingdom. I am to die for maintaining the fifth commandment, enjoined by God himself, which commands reverence and obedience to parents: All divines, though they disagree in other articles, acknowledge that magistracy and order is here intended; and I have certainly obeyed that magistracy and order under which I lived, and thought myself bound to pay due obedience to.

"Gentlemen, I think this a fit opportunity to remind you of his majesty, our last king; who, in my opinion, was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best christian, that this age hath produced, being without any kind of vice.

"Pray God preserve his son, and grant him to be more fortunate, and a greater length of days. I was counsellor to him, and lived with him, and never saw greater hopes of virtue in any young person, than in him; of a nature truly honorable; quick apprehension, great judgment, and a perfect Englishman in his inclinations; I pray God restore him to the crown; unite these kingdoms, and send prosperity and happiness both to him and you; that he may live long to reign among you; and that, that family may reign till thy kingdom come; that is, while all temporal power is consummated. Once more, I beseech God of his mercy to grant happiness to this your king, and the greatest and choicest blessings on you his subjects, by the grace of Jesus Christ.

"I shall conclude in the manner I began, with hearty prayers to Almighty God, that he would be graciously pleased to pardon those who are the occasion of my being brought to this untimely death: For my part, I will not accuse any of them with malice, not knowing of a certainty, whether there was any malice subsisting among them; nay, I will not so much as think they had a malicious view in their proceedings: What ends they aim at, I know not, nor shall I now examine.

"To conclude: The Lord of Heaven bless and protect you all: God Almighty be infinite in goodness and mercy to you, and direct you in those ways of obedience to his commands, and those of his majesty, that this kingdom may yet be a happy and glorious nation; and your king will then be happy in so good and obedient a people. God Almighty preserve this kingdom; God Almighty protect you all."

He then kneeled down, and said a short prayer; and rising, again addressed the spectators:

"Gentlemen, though I make no question of your doing voluntarily what I am going to ask, yet I hope my reminding you of it, will not be taken amiss; it is, that you would all join with me in prayers, in these my last moments, begging that God would mercifully receive my soul."

Which being promised, he cried out,

"O Lord God, I do with a perfect and willing heart, submit to thy will, O God, I do most willingly humble myself. Pray God bless you all."

Then laying his head over the block, asked the executioner whether he laid right, who answering yes, then said he, "Honest man, strike boldly, for I forgive you from my soul," at which words he held out his right hand, and the executioner, at one blow, severed his head from his body.

On the day his lordship was beheaded, he received the sacrament from the hands of Dr. Morley. He had continued in prayers all the night before, with strong, hearty, and passionate affections; first, confessing and bewailing his sins, with cries and tears; secondly, most humbly and earnestly desiring God's mercy, through the merits of Christ only; thirdly, for his dear wife and children, with some passion, but for her especially, with most ardent affection; recommending them to the Divine Providence with great confidence; behaving all the time with great humility and zeal.

After he had parted with his wife and friends, he said to Dr. Morley, "Now, doctor, the hardest piece of work I had to perform in this world, is past."

Thus was the British nation deprived of the most noble champion it had; a man in whom the malice of his enemies could discover very few faults, and whom his friends could not wish better accomplished; whom Oliver Cromwell's own character well described; a man who had always lived in a state of plenty and general estimation, enjoying the greatest happiness in his domestic affairs; but who, when the honour of his king was invaded, threw aside all those blessings, and having no other obligations to the crown than those his own honour suggested to him, frankly engaged his person and fortune at the beginning of the troubles, and continued to the end.

Thus ended the year one thousand six hundred and forty eight, a year ever to be remembered for war and bloodshed.

FINIS.

(MARSDEN, PRINTER, COLCHESTER.)



